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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Mr. Wallace's Opportunity
An Editorial

Behind the Argentine Censorship
By Pampero

Poland--A Moral Issue
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Decision in the Dark
An Editorial

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In This Issue

PAMPERO

is the pen name under which a prominent citizen of Argentina tells of the tense situation prevailing behind the censorship in his country. Needless to say, his article did not pass through the regular censored channels. "Catholics in the United States are keeping their fellow religionists here fully informed of all that is being said and done in your country," he writes in requesting the use of a pen name, "but I see no particular advantage in going to a concentration camp."

W. NORMAN PITTENGER

is a well known Episcopalian, a member of the faculty of General Theological Seminary in New York city. He is a contributing editor to the *Journal of the Philosophy of Religion* and wrote the Anglo-catholic sections of the *Dictionary of Philosophy*. He is the author of a number of books, the latest of which is *The Christian Way in a Modern World*.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

was for many years publisher and editor of the *New York Post* and the *Nation*. His autobiography, *Fighting Years*, gives a vivid picture of liberal crusades through the past fifty years. He now writes regularly for The Christian Century.

GEORGE P. HOWARD

is a native of Latin America, born in Buenos Aires of North American parents. His widely discussed book, *Religious Freedom in Latin America?*, published recently, was the result of a tour of South America during which he interviewed leaders to determine their attitude toward the Roman Catholic hierarchy's attempt to oust Protestant missionaries from their countries.

THE PRAYER

at the end of the Lenten meditation on the opposite page was written by Dean Willard L. Sperry. It appears in *Prayers for Private Devotions in Wartime*.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 14. Evangelical-United Brethren Fraternal Fellowship of Philadelphia; Raymond Albright, speaker.
Mar. 16-18. Methodist Student Movement Conferences, Grand Forks, N. D., Greenwood, S. C., Manhattan, Kan.
Mar. 17. St. Patrick's Day.
Mar. 17-18. Midwest Cooperative Conference, Waukegan, Ill.
Mar. 18. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Rayford W. Logan, speaker.
Mar. 18. Community Church, Boston; Agnes Smedley, speaker.
Mar. 18. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Henry St. George Tucker, speaker.
Mar. 18. Interracial Vesper Hour, Kansas City, Kan.
Mar. 18. Red Cross Sunday.
Mar. 20. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York.
Mar. 23. Annunciation.
Mar. 25. Palm Sunday.
Mar. 25. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; James W. Clarke, speaker.
Mar. 25. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; S. Ralph Harlow and Khalil Totah, speakers.
Mar. 25-29. Week of Prayer, Dillard University, New Orleans; Gardner Taylor, preacher.
Mar. 27-30. Easter Week of Prayer.
Mar. 30. Good Friday.
Apr. 1. Easter.
Apr. 1. Community Church, Boston; Barnett R. Brickner, speaker.
Apr. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jerome Davis, speaker.
Apr. 3-5. Associated Church Press, Philadelphia.
Apr. 3-5. Seminar on America's Responsibility for World Reconstruction, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 8. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
Apr. 12-13. Shaffer Lectures, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; George A. Buttrick, speaker.
Apr. 13-15. Institute of Human Relations, Kansas City, Kan.; James Farmer and Victor Hugo Sword, speakers.
Apr. 15. Community Church, Boston; Frederick L. Schuman, speaker.
Apr. 22. Community Church, Boston; Clarence R. Skinner, speaker.
Apr. 25. United Nations Conference, San Francisco.
Apr. 29. Community Church, Boston; Eduard C. Lindeman, speaker.
May 1-4. Pastors' Institute, Kansas City, Mo.
May 2-5. Minnesota State Conference of Social Work. St. Paul.
May 6. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
May 6. Rural Church Sunday.
May 7-13. Christian Family Week.
May 10. Ascension Day.
May 13. Mother's Day.
May 15. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York.
May 21-28. Northern Baptist Convention, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.
May 24. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Montreat, N. C.
May 24. Presbyterian General Assembly, Minneapolis, Minn.
June 7. General Synod, Reformed Church in America, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
June 11-14. Illinois Ministers' Retreat, Eureka.
June 13-17. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Winona Lake, Ind.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
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EDITORIAL

AS THE FORCES of evil gathered to put him to death, Jesus arranged for a final evening meal with his disciples. In the Upper Room he took the food and drink which were most commonly seen on Palestinian tables and asked his followers, whenever they broke bread and drank wine, to remember his broken body and his shed blood. In Lent we too come to this same table of the Lord. That single night in Jerusalem stretches across sixty generations to include us. We join those first disciples around the table. But shall we forget the generations between them and ourselves? Jesus of Nazareth still breaks the bread; he still pours the cup. From hand to hand uncounted disciples who lived these many lifetimes without breaking the chain of remembrance pass them on to us. Through centuries of darkness when the written record was forgotten by all but a few, these faithful unknown followers of Christ kept the covenant. So we keep it. Unite us, O God, in one communion with all the saints, with the souls of the righteous and the spirits of just men made perfect in Thy presence. We remember all who have faithfully lived, all who have peacefully died; especially those near to us and dear. Grant that being compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses we may run with patience the race that is set before us, looking to him who is the author and finisher of our faith, even Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Fifth Week In Lent

Our Watch Is On the Rhine

WITHIN the seven days since last week's brief summary of the military situation in Germany, the American forces have fought their way into the outskirts of Cologne, have completely closed the gap that separated them from the Rhine a few miles north opposite Düsseldorf and have narrowed to a thin wedge the space between the fighting front and the river opposite the mouth of the Ruhr a few miles still farther north. Most of the bridges have been destroyed, some by our bombers to prevent the Germans from escaping, some by the retreating Germans to prevent pursuit. Attacks from the air, greatly intensified even above their previous intensity, have wrought new desolation in a dozen German cities, and the destruction of the closely crowded industrial plants in the Ruhr valley, the most important concentration of German production, must by this time be almost complete. Russian activity has been chiefly, and successfully, directed to penetrating the long narrow corridor along the Baltic from Stettin to East Prussia. The western neck of this bottle has been almost closed by a near approach to Stettin, and the Russians have driven through to the sea at two points, cutting the enclosed German forces into three segments. Without much closer approach to Berlin directly from the east, where the distance still stands at about thirty miles, the great enveloping movement to the north and south continues. Meanwhile, Berlin is being so battered from the air that it is questionable whether anything will remain when its site is occupied.

The Act of Chapultepec

THE DECLARATION hereafter to be known as the Act of Chapultepec, now under consideration with every prospect of adoption by the representatives of all the American nations (except Argentina) now in session at Mexico City, is a step toward inter-American solidarity during and after the war. It is also in some degree an exploratory measure in the direction of world-wide organization for the realization of the principles to which the American republics have reaffirmed their allegiance. The new instrument begins with a rehearsal of the agreements previously reached, especially in the conferences of 1933, 1936 and 1940. The first of these was the condemnation of intervention by any state in the internal or external affairs of another (1933). But this was conditioned by "recognition that every act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America affects each and every one of them" (1936). The Monroe Doctrine had been extended (1940) by declaring that interference by any non-American power with the sovereignty or political independence of any

American state is aggression against all. The Act of Chapultepec goes farther in making more specific the warning quoted above from the 1936 agreement, and by specifying the steps to be taken, both immediately and ultimately, when the signatory powers find themselves affected by an "act susceptible of disturbing the peace of America." Under war conditions they may proceed, under the "general constitutional and war powers" of their governments, to break diplomatic relations with the offending nation, invoke economic sanctions or use armed force. After the war, it is agreed, the American republics should consider the conclusion of a treaty under which they can do the same things without relying upon the special war powers of their executives. In making these provisions for intervention in the interest of the common safety, all minds were naturally focused upon Argentina as the present scene of a fascist government and stronghold of nazi interests and as a potential aggressor against her nearest neighbor states. The significant thing is that the Latin American conferees look upon the United States no longer as the sinister colossus of the north but as an ally in the cause of justice and national security. For the first time they have agreed that, under certain conditions, the inviolable sovereignty of an American nation cannot guarantee it against intervention. They know perfectly well that in any such act of intervention we will be the most powerful factor. But they believe us when we say, with them, that intervention must always be a joint act, never on our own responsibility or for our own interest. May we never disappoint that trust.

Self-Rule Is Restored To the Philippines

WHEN President Sergio Osmena of the Philippine Commonwealth stood in battered Malacanan Palace in Manila and received from General Douglas MacArthur complete control of the civil government in the liberated areas of his country, something new was added to this war. Not once in this long struggle, which has ranged over a considerable portion of the globe, has a conquering general said to the head of a previously subject people: "On behalf of my government, I now solemnly declare, Mr. President, the full powers under the constitution are restored to the commonwealth." No achievement of the war entitles the American people to greater satisfaction than this occurrence in Manila. It announced to the submerged colonial peoples of the world that liberation need not be simply a euphemism intended to conceal the raw realities of reconquest. The Philippine Commonwealth, declared General MacArthur, is again "at liberty to pursue its destiny in the family of free nations. . . . American soldiers came here as an army of free men dedicated with your people to the cause of human liberty." It is to be noted that the general did not speak for himself. He spoke in behalf of the government of the United States. The fact that he acted as soon as the city was cleared of Japanese soldiers is in itself significant. Even though fighting is continuing so close to the Philippine capital that the sound of the guns can still be heard there, the Filipino people are not kept in doubt concerning our intentions. President Osmena's reply maintained the dignity of a historic occasion. He expressed the gratitude of his people for the aid that has been given them in achieving their liberation and urged his countrymen to submerge their political differences in a common effort at reconstruction. He also expressed the hope that the United States will accord full freedom to the archipelago this year. Since that has been pledged, we believe it will be forthcoming on schedule.

Cooperation Planned In Missions Return

WHEN Protestant missions reopen their work in the Philippines, there will be no disgraceful scramble for sectarian advantage. For many years before the war, the principal evangelical bodies carried on their missionary activity in the islands in full harmony and cooperation. At the beginning of the century they entered into a comity agreement which largely eliminated overlapping and competition. With the exception of the inevitable few uncooperative sects, they eventually formed a strong national interchurch council. When some of the denominations united to form a stronger Protestant body, this too entered the council and substantially strengthened its work. In time this became the National Christian Council. Because the growing cooperation in the Philippines demanded it, a corresponding interdenominational committee was set up in this country by representatives of the mission boards. When the war brought its cataclysmic problems, this committee had had years of experience in dealing cooperatively with the growing evangelical church in the islands. Each member knew intimately not only the personnel and plans of his own mission but also those of other bodies working in the islands. The committee has continued and increased its work during the war. Now that the prospects of return to the islands have unexpectedly opened earlier than was anticipated, it is prepared to speed experienced leaders to the islands. They will go in the interest of the entire evangelical community. That is as it should be. Will the story read as well elsewhere?

Can a Government Official Rewrite Statute Law?

BEHIND the decision rendered by the Supreme Court last week in the case of Gemsco, an embroidery firm, may be seen the problem which disturbs many Americans as the nation moves toward a more completely planned economy. This problem is whether democratic controls can be maintained over such planning—either by Congress or in some similarly representative manner—or whether planning inevitably involves rule by the government officials in the planning office. The Supreme Court was asked to pass on the authority of an administrator of the Wage-Hour Administration to end home work in the embroidery industry. The WHA defended this action on the ground that, if such home work was not prohibited, it would be impossible to sustain the 40-cent minimum hourly wage set for the industry. The Gemsco firm challenged the WHA administrator's order,

contending that the wage-hour law not only does not prohibit home work in an industry but that, while the law was under consideration by Congress, an amendment which would have written in such a prohibition was "consciously and deliberately rejected." For the first time, we believe, the court divided on a strictly before-Roosevelt and after-Roosevelt basis. The seven justices appointed by President Roosevelt voted to uphold the authority of the WHA administrator. The two justices whose terms antedate Mr. Roosevelt dissented from the decision. Justice Roberts, with the concurrence of Chief Justice Stone, asserted that, by approving the action of the administrator, the court had established a "philosophy" which is "nothing less than that the administrator may, if he finds it necessary, rewrite the statute." Most Americans, we believe, will be glad to see home work in any branch of the needle trades ended. It has long been one of the most scandalous kinds of exploitation remaining in American industry. But many of those same Americans will regard with concern approval of the principle that a government bureau official administering a law may, if he finds that law inadequate for the purposes he has in view, so "interpret" the law as actually to rewrite it. The issue here goes beyond the welfare of 8,500 embroidery workers.

Mr. Churchill Finds Athens Peaceful

IN THE REPORT of the prime minister's very long speech in Parliament on the Yalta conference, one might easily overlook his exultant picture of the happy state of Greece after the defeat of the ELAS forces by British troops and the internment of about 10,000 of them in Egypt, while the food blockade is still in force at the boundaries which were fixed by the truce. Mr. Churchill was received at Athens by "vast crowds of delighted citizens . . . wild with joy." The British government's policy has, he is sure, been completely vindicated. This may, indeed, be true, within limits. But the evidence of it can be nothing so simple as an ovation by cheering throngs composed of one party of Greeks while the defeated supporters of the opposition, so far as they are not in jail or in exile, are discreetly silent and wondering where the next meal is coming from. When Mr. Churchill mentioned the "prejudice and misrepresentation" on this subject that have been poured out in the United States, he was reminded from the floor, and grudgingly admitted, that the American critics had received "some assistance from this side." The truth is that there was quite as much criticism in England as in the United States. The prime minister's exuberant report of the complete success of his program in "rescuing Athens from a horrible fate," delivering Greece from irresponsible "terrorists" and restoring domestic tranquility to that troubled land, went considerably beyond the known facts. At least a section of the House of Commons seems to have agreed with this, for we read in the report of his speech: "Public order and security are so established that UNRRA is about to resume its functions *(Laughter)*." A laugh is no answer, but an ovation on the streets is no proof. Mr. Churchill would have made a stronger case if he had used the British technique of understatement, rather than what is supposed to be the characteristically American method of exaggeration. The most he can claim—and he can claim this—is that British troops got the situation in hand so that constructive measures, both political and economic, can now be taken.

Canadian Labor Protests Suppression of Report

WHAT are the prospects for postwar employment in Canada? Recently the dominion department of labor completed a survey of the employment plans of Canadian business. Within twenty-four hours after it had been received by the reconstruction committee of the King cabinet, a blanket censorship was placed upon its publication in the press. Worldover Press reports that the Canadian Congress of Labor insistently demands that it be released for public information. The Congress argues that if the report shows that private business is not going to be able to provide full employment, the time to make that known is now. It cites the recent survey made by the Maclean Publishing company of 2,400 of the largest manufacturing concerns in eight major Canadian industries. This survey is said to indicate that these companies are prepared to invest in postwar expansion less than half of what they must invest if they do their proportionate share of providing for full employment. The government survey is much more extensive, covering not only manufacturing but all Canadian firms employing 200 or more workers. It is in the public interest that the facts concerning this total of 1,500,000 employees shall be made known while there is still time to construct a policy to prevent a depression. Justice for the returning service men, to say nothing of the remainder of the country, demands that the blackout of information be lifted. The action of the Canadian cabinet is comparable to that of our own Congress in extinguishing the National Resources Planning Board. Putting out the eyes of Samson is an old trick, but it always fails. Have the statesmen forgotten that it was blind Samson who in the end pulled down the temple on the heads of those who had blinded him?

Locating the Capital Of the World

GENEVA is probably out, as the focal point for international activities in the postwar world. The International Labor Office long ago moved to Montreal, which is not a particularly good location for that and would not do at all for the prospective organization of the United Nations. The London *Statesman and Nation* thinks there will be little disposition to go back to Switzerland "with its preference for neutrality to League obligations," and suggests the Hague, Antwerp and Copenhagen as possibilities, and (modestly) London. Location in a small country would have the advantage of avoiding jealousy among the greater nations. American Greeks have mentioned the qualifications of Athens, which are obvious, both historically and geographically. But Athens is too hot in summer; it would be better for a cultural center, with

a long academic summer vacation. Professor Vida Scudder, in a letter to this paper, has recently nominated Jerusalem. How about a new city, with a new name, built on the site of Berlin? Germany is going to require watching anyway, and one way of doing it would be to put it right in the limelight. Our British contemporary's imagination does not extend to the possibility of a site outside of Europe, and ours does not envisage one in the United States. But something is to be said for Mexico City. It is high, cool and healthy. It is midway between the Atlantic and the Pacific, nearly enough equidistant from Europe and Asia, equally remote from the spheres of influence of Britain and Russia so that neither could consider the other unduly favored, linguistically separated from the United States and jealous enough of its own sovereign dignity to be open to no suspicion of giving us any unfair advantage. But there is no hurry. And backers of the claims of any location had better not speak of a "capital of the world," lest "isolationists" see the shadow of a super-government.

Mr. Wallace's Opportunity

HENRY WALLACE'S confirmation as secretary of commerce ends one of the most unpleasant incidents in recent American politics. Almost everything about it has left a bad taste in the mouth. Beginning with the shabby treatment accorded Mr. Wallace at the Democratic national convention last year, the unhappy record has progressed by stages through the President's virtual insult to his former vice-president in the amazing letter to Jesse Jones, through the revelation of the Senate's lack of confidence in its passage of the George bill, up to its final climax in the almost disdainful air with which confirmation was finally voted. It has been a sad business for everyone involved. Nevertheless, it may have opened a wider door of opportunity for Mr. Wallace than he could otherwise have entered.

As our readers know, The Christian Century has always had a strong fellow-feeling for Mr. Wallace. We have believed in his sincerity, his integrity and his competence. Of the political figures in Washington no one has more plainly drawn his inspiration for economic reform from the Christian faith. His devotion to and his understanding of the social implications of prophetic Christianity established at the outset of his connection with the Roosevelt regime a distinct affinity between himself and the general Christian community. This feeling that he was the champion of the social ideals for which the Christian church stands has not been weakened by the peripheral mistakes he may have made in public policy and it must not now succumb to the smear campaign into which the controversy over his nomination for the commerce secretaryship degenerated.

Superficially considered, Henry Wallace enters on his new duties a much scaled down political figure. Before the Senate would give him his new office it stripped that office of most of the duties which have hitherto made it one of great importance. Under a strict construction of the powers of the secretary of commerce, as those powers remain after all the lending agencies formerly directed by Mr. Jones have been removed from the department, it is a little hard to say just what—beyond the gathering of commercial statistics—there is left for the new secretary to do. Already the press carries jibing wisecracks comparing Mr. Wallace's deflated secretaryship with that of Miss Perkins. Yet Mr. Wallace has gained one asset of priceless political value in the hard struggle through which he has been passing since Mr. Roosevelt set him aside last July. He has evidently won the loyalty and active support of a great portion of the working class. More Americans will feel a personal interest in his success as secretary of commerce than in that of any other member of the cabinet.

It may prove that, stripped of the RFC and similar banking responsibilities, Henry Wallace will now find himself free to reconceive and enlarge the scope of the commerce portfolio. With the portfolio of labor reduced almost to a sinecure, Mr. Wallace may be in a position to spread his responsibility over the area covered by both these departments. Already it is being suggested that his real place in the cabinet will be as "minister of the sixty million promised postwar jobs." This means that he would head up the program of outlining plans whereby full employment may be maintained after American industry is no longer supported by war orders. The statement which Mr. Wallace made to the Senate commerce committee on January 25 indicated that he has that conception of his task in mind. And the book by Mr. Wallace which two firms of publishers announce they will issue next month is to bear the significant title, *Sixty Million Jobs*.

Some Americans fear Mr. Wallace in such a role. They greet his arrival in his new post as the sons of Jacob greeted Joseph, "Behold, this dreamer cometh." We, too, fear Mr. Wallace in this role—but not more than we fear any other man, conservative or liberal, in it. It is the most formidable and the most perilous role which any statesman has assumed in more than a half-century of our history.

Following the war, the political struggle between the entrenched forces of the economic status quo and the forces determined on its reform promises to rock the structure of our national life to its foundations. For a long time the forces of disunity have been gathering strength, until now their conflict on a large scale has become irrepressible. Never in our history have there been so many powerful pressure groups, so well organized and so insistent upon getting control of the national government. Each of the dominant political parties is composed of elements so heterogeneous that their inner unity has become hardly more than an artifact. Our two-party system threatens to give way to a chaos of economic blocs like that which brought France to ruin and earlier brought Hitler to power in Germany.

Into this situation Mr. Wallace will come with little by way of national precedent or tradition to build upon. His task will be uniquely that of laying new foundations for American industrial life. The old economic policies and methods simply cannot be depended on to produce anything approaching full employment or to head off the

postwar collapse which some economists are already discussing as though it were certain. The very formation of such an agency of private business as the Committee for Economic Development is a recognition by the business community itself that the nation dare not go back to the hit-or-miss type of "free enterprise"—not if it wants to escape apple selling and public uprising.

The significance of Mr. Wallace's testimony before the Senate committee lay in his recognition of the necessity for a new approach to the problem of full employment. With details of that testimony, almost anyone can find grounds for disagreement. At one or two key points, questioning by the members of the committee quickly drove Mr. Wallace back to rather shallow generalities or to ask more time for consideration. But the total picture presented was that of a man who knows what the most pressing issues in this field are, who has made up his mind what lines of approach to these issues offer hope, and who envisages it as his responsibility to lay out an economic plan for the nation which shall guard it not only against any repetition of the disaster which followed the First World War, but against the far greater consequences that will surely follow its repetition this time.

If the President permits Mr. Wallace to broaden the scope of his department to include postwar planning, the new secretary's great opportunity will present itself when he tries to answer the question: Can we have national planning to meet the economic crisis sure to follow the war and still preserve the liberty of the American citizen? Here is the riddle of the Sphinx for multiplied millions of his fellow Americans. They are as anxious as he to see full employment in this country after the war. They are as anxious as he to see an end forever to the destruction wrought by the business cycle. They are as anxious as he to rid the nation's economy of anarchy, cutthroat competition and restrictive monopoly. They want the sixty million jobs. But they also want to be assured that a system of government planning can gain these ends without requiring such human regimentation that the liberty of the citizen becomes a meaningless hoax. Mr. Wallace told the Senate committee that all his ideas of national planning rested on a foundation of individual freedom, individual initiative, individual enterprise. What his countrymen want to know is whether this was merely a verbal strategy to make his confirmation easier, or whether he actually has the answer as to how this nation can achieve a system of democratically controlled planning.

Here is Mr. Wallace's great chance. His fellow countrymen want the very things he wants. They are willing to make great efforts to secure them. But they are perplexed and fearful before the prospect of surrendering their cherished individual freedom to a bureaucracy. With the examples of the totalitarian systems before them, they rightly shrink from the displacement of our free economy by any of those systems. And they naturally fear to take the initial steps which may seem innocent enough but which lead logically and with ever lessening resistance to dictatorship and tyranny.

Can Mr. Wallace dispel this fear? He cannot dispel it if he accepts the dictation of the political bloc of organized workers whose political symbol he has become. It is not by any means certain that the wisdom which must guide him resides in any one economic group, whether of industrial workers or employers, farmers or enterprisers. These all represent partial interests. Their conflict creates the problem, but it is highly unlikely that the solution of the problem lies with any of them. The solution lies with that statesmanly intelligence which is capable of transcending the conflicting interests and blocs and reconciling them in an economy which is at once just and free. If Mr. Wallace can show how the great ends on whose achievement both he and his fellow countrymen are agreed can be attained without jeopardizing the economic freedom which is integral to every form of freedom, he will stand forth as one of the nation's providential leaders.

It is said that Mr. Wallace has high ambitions for 1948. That is a matter which should be altogether subordinated to his success in dealing with this fundamental issue. Indeed, if his political ambition ties him too closely to the economic bloc from which he has hitherto derived his chief political strength, he may succeed politically and carry the nation to the edge of the abyss of violent revolution. But if he can work out a system of planned economy whose inmost principle is planning for freedom, rather than planning for results at the expense of freedom, nothing on earth can keep from him the honor and rewards of his countrymen. Herein lies his opportunity. And also his high patriotic responsibility.

Decision in the Dark

BOTH Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt reported on Yalta to their respective parliamentary bodies immediately on their return from the Black sea. The President's address received a more favorable press than any he has made in a long time. The reason principally lay in the fact that he immediately placed responsibility for the great decision which we now face where it belongs—with the people and their representatives. Mr. Churchill's presentation was impressive. A note of deep gravity marked his two-hour statement. When the two addresses are compared, the British prime minister is seen to have been more candid than was Mr. Roosevelt in facing the difficulties which the United Nations confront and more accurate in reporting on the actual steps which were taken at Yalta to meet them.

The most important sentence in Prime Minister Churchill's report to Commons has passed almost without notice. Toward the end of his two-hour address he lapsed into a strangely un-Churchillean mood. For the moment the pageantry of empire faded while he mused on the misery caused by the war. During the past three months, the aging Briton observed, mankind has suffered more physical agony than has ever before been seen on this planet. He seemed to be asking himself, Is it in vain? No answer came. All he could say was, "Now we enter into a world of imponderables and at every stage self-questioning arises." Then, as if to apologize for allowing his eyes to

fall, even momentarily, on a sea of pain, he hastened on: "It is a mistake to look too far ahead. Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at will."

The world of imponderables at which Mr. Churchill permitted himself to take one awe-stricken glance provides the real explanation why both his address and that of the President contained so little real news. Each filled in details concerning the agreements reached at the Crimean conference. Each pointed toward the next step to be taken at San Francisco. But neither asked or answered the great questions on which the future of civilization depends. Their silence can mean only that neither knows what to expect as the nations they lead take one stride after another down an unknown road. They lead, but are themselves led. Marshal Stalin sets the pace.

To be sure, the British prime minister was soon accorded the vote of confidence which he sought from Parliament. After defeating by 396 to 25 a motion of censure for transferring "to another power the territory of an ally contrary to treaty and Article II of the Atlantic Charter," the House of Commons voted 413 to 0 its approval of the Yalta declaration. The fact that it was members of his own party who proposed to censure the action on Poland and who refrained from voting on the main motion of confidence at the end of the three-day debate cannot fail to have been noted by Mr. Churchill. Their lack of enthusiasm for his statement that "hope has been powerfully strengthened by our meeting in the Crimea" will give the prime minister further reason for self-questioning.

Our constitutional processes being what they are, President Roosevelt is required to wait for action on his policy until a treaty or charter of world organization comes before the Senate. That body is likely to deliberate longer than Parliament did over Yalta. The president's cleverness in skirting around matters which reveal the predominance of the Soviet Union made it perfectly clear that he is aware that the chief criticism of Yalta and the prospective opposition to the San Francisco agreements will be centered on these points. Attempts to mask the naked might of Russian power with high-sounding phrases will seem much less necessary in Washington than in London. There it has already been noted that in Mr. Roosevelt's accolade for the new military accord to bring about the final defeat of Germany he failed to mention that a similar agreement announced after the Teheran conference changed in no respect the general policy of the Red army to keep its own counsel and to go its own way. It has also been observed that while the President denounced "slavery" and omitted any reference to forced labor in his description of the conditions which the Germans may expect to prevail after they have surrendered, he promptly remedied the omission at his press conference next day by endorsing the impressment of German labor for Russian reconstruction. Is this "reparation in kind"? The A. F. of L. calls it "slavery."

The one point to which the President repeatedly returned in his report was "the great decision" which he asked the Senate to make on the charter for world organization soon to issue from the San Francisco conference. "An international accord which would bring order and security after the chaos of war" he regarded as so important that he took personal responsibility for the compromise formula agreed upon at Yalta concerning voting in the security council of the proposed organization. This formula is now known to yield everything demanded by the Russian delegation at Dumbarton Oaks. Each of the big nations is permitted to vote whether economic or military sanctions may be imposed on itself. The "compromise" is the provision that no nation involved in a dispute may vote on the application to itself of juridical methods of settlement. The President also reported, as Mr. Churchill had done before him, on the place of France in the new Europe and on further conversations concerning Anglo-American cooperation in Asia. "Matters of common interest," he said, were discussed in Africa with the rulers of Egypt, Ethiopia and Saudi Arabia. One of these matters doubtless was Arabian oil—a remarkable substance which may simultaneously glue us to Britain's empire lifeline and inflame us against Russia.

It was the discussion of the Yalta partition of Poland which set the Churchill and Roosevelt statements in the most glaring contrast. President Roosevelt brushed off the trouble-breeding potentialities of the Crimean settlement by declaring that the solution reached by the Big Three "is the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish state." Prime Minister Churchill devoted as much time to this one question as his American ally gave to his entire address. He frankly examined the tortuous boundary issue and defended the Curzon line as a reasonable compromise. Instead of putting forth vague generalities concerning restitution to Poland at Germany's expense, he declared that Danzig, Upper Silesia and East Prussia were pledged to Poland at Yalta. Twice denying that he supported the Russian claim "because I bow to force," he admitted that the prospects for Polish freedom are slight unless Russia's word can be depended upon. It is not impossible that he recognized the irony of his words when, in this speech in which he was recommending a course which broke Britain's treaty obligations to her Polish ally, he declared that "no government stands more to its obligations than the Russian Soviet government."

Mr. Churchill is right, of course, in his appraisal of the effect of the Polish settlement on the whole structure of international collaboration. When three nations can meet before the end of the war and re-enact Munich by carving up one helpless ally, other allies immediately are thrown into panic. That China has begun to fear her turn may be next is evidenced by the sharp statement issued by Marshal Chiang on the day after the Roosevelt report was made to Congress. The Chinese leader declared, in the midst of a statement calling the long promised constitutional convention for next November, that he had no intention of abdicating. He was serving notice that if Russia's price for entering the war against Japan is his head, he does not intend to lay it on the block without a struggle. Neither does he intend to purchase national unity by surrendering power to a coalition dominated by the Chinese Communists, who will be satisfied with nothing less.

This mood created by Yalta will play its important part as "we enter into a world of imponderables" where "at every stage self-questioning arises." Countries like

China dread the new imperialism which is springing from the ashes of old empires before the fires of their revolutionary transformations cool. The small nations tremble before the specter of a big-power alliance. Russia on her part fears a combination of capitalist countries against her. The rest of the world is apprehensive as it sees social unrest exploited by revolutions which become an entering wedge for communist conquest. Both Russia and Britain question whether we will carry out our share of world responsibility even if we agree to do so. Our people, with the will to cooperate at last a vital force in our political consciousness, wonder whether that will has not been born too late. We look to the Balkans and the Baltic states, to Africa and the Near East, to Mongolia and southeastern Asia and ask ourselves whether unilateral aggression, spheres of influence and balances of power did really come to an end at Yalta, as President Roosevelt informed Congress and the American people.

In this dark world of imponderables the great decision must be made. It is now evident that neither Mr. Churchill nor Mr. Roosevelt can throw much light on this darkness. Mr. Roosevelt says that "we shall have the responsibility for world collaboration or we shall have to bear the responsibility for another world conflict." He may be right. On the other hand, the decision for collaboration may, in the circumstances in which it must be made, in itself lead to conflict. All we can know surely is that the great decision must be made, and that it must be made in the dark.

Are We the Early Church?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: That daring thinker, Mr. C. S. Lewis, who provides more excitement to a page than most other writers, says: "Never forget that we are all still 'the early Christians.' The present wicked and wasteful divisions between us are, let us hope, a disease of infancy: we are still teething. The outer world, no doubt, thinks just the opposite. It thinks we are dying of old age."

You must have heard such claims before. Somebody whose name I forget—perhaps you will tell me it—said once that as history goes the Christian religion is still young. It is only 1945 A.D. Of the great faiths by which the children of men have lived, and live, only Islam is younger. That need not in itself demonstrate anything more than the tenacity with which the spirit of man holds to anchors which it believes are "within the veil." Nor does it demonstrate the sublime guess of the youthful student who argued that a new religion was due every two thousand years and one was due now; therefore he kept himself ready for it by not committing himself to any of the older religions.

In point of fact, if there is any truth in the claim that we are the early Christians, it must rest upon the interpretation of Christ and his gospel which we accept. It is certainly not true if there is in this religion only a nucleus of truth which as the ages pass becomes stripped of one thing after another till there is left only a fading shadow. When Matthew Arnold wrote,

> Leave then the Cross as ye have left carved gods,
> But guard the fire within,

he was not writing for "early Christians." To follow his advice would not be a sign that Christianity, the Real Thing, was now beginning. What was substituted for the cross might be a religion, and a new religion; it would scarcely be called the Christian faith, now entering upon its inheritance, becoming itself.

Have you ever noticed that whenever there is an authentic outburst of life in the Christian church, it always goes with a rediscovery, not of certain spiritual truths or ethical counsels only, but of a creative Person who, it is claimed, has always been in this human scene, "given and never withdrawn"? Always there and now revealed to us! This being is the same in all ages, and yet when he comes he is new. So there is the air of youth and spring in such times. "The Thing has happened," and they who come within it know that they are among the firstborn of a new humanity.

But you or I could visit some churches without detecting the "bliss in this morn to be alive." We might even be forgiven if we found sometimes—and there is reason for it—the mood of those who are ready to go down with the sinking ship, but are quite sure the ship is sinking. The church has been a long time dying, but its end cannot now be far away. Such splendid men—and they are splendid—are not early Christians, but late, very late in the story. For the life of me, I should be at a loss what to say to them if there is nothing for them to do but to keep alive a historic tradition, gradually receding and slowly losing its relevancy. But if it is true that in Christ, to quote Mr. Lewis once more, "the next step has been taken, and he is not only a new man but *the* new man, the origin and center and life of all the new men," then the church, any church which is willing, is a society of early Christians. And when that has been believed and accepted, why then the New Testament comes to life. We are the first who have ever read it. It is written for us. We are the saints in Corinth or in Ephesus, they are the saints in New York or London.

These are the Sunday morning reflections of one debarred from assembling himself with the saints.

Ever yours,
QUINTUS QUIZ.

Repentance

ONCE I prayed to the Lord of Battles—
Bright-helmeted, steel-brandishing, all-conquering;
Once I sought place in the rolling tides of marching men,
colorful, confident;
Once I shouted, amid the blaze of pageantry and the
blaring of bugles—
On to victory and glory!

Now I sit, meek and repentant, before a wooden Cross, at darkened noontide; a Cross holding up to heaven earth's greatest loser of battles—and its only Conqueror.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Behind the Argentine Censorship

By Pampero

NOTHING is surer than that the military clique which is running things in Argentina is totalitarian. Even Mr. Sumner Welles, who advocates their recognition by Washington, says that they are nazis. They have behaved like nazis without going to the extremes of sadism which characterize the German brand. The congress has been disbanded, and political parties, labor unions and democratic organizations of all sorts have been dissolved. Home rule for the provinces has been done away with and military governors have been appointed. Compulsory religious teaching has been established in the schools in violation of the constitution. Colonel Peron, the power behind the throne in Argentina, in answer to a question asked by a group of Chilean newspaper representatives said, very nonchalantly, that there were only a thousand political and labor leaders in concentration camps. These men are in prison because they disagree with President Farrell, whose *de facto* government is the successor of the democratic regime of the great President Sarmiento, who once said, "Ideas cannot be killed."

Besides those who are in prisons there are hundreds of leaders who have gone into voluntary exile. The latest is the popular president of La Plata University, Dr. Alfredo Palacios. In his letter of resignation to the authorities he said in part: "For twenty years I have tried to inculcate in the youth of our nation energy for action, faithfulness to our national principles, discipline, and the supreme good—love of liberty. But I cannot now continue with dignity my work as a teacher, for I do not enjoy freedom. I do not see how I can possibly, under police surveillance, honor the chair I have been holding."

British-American Rivalry

Two factors complicate the situation in Argentina. One is the rivalry between British and American interests. Were is not for the tacit support it receives from British economic interests, the present military government would have been out long since. Some large American corporations are equally friendly toward the men who are now in power. The government promised to expropriate foreign public utilities, most of which are British. The gas company was assessed at a very low price. But British pressure finally secured three times the amount originally fixed. The government demanded that the British-owned railways refund the $20,000,000 that had been deducted from their employees' salaries during a period of deficit in railway earnings. A threat by Britain to cut down on meat purchases led to a compromise whereby the roads were allowed to recoup this outlay by an increase in fares and freight rates.

A monopoly of transportation for the city of Buenos Aires has been granted the antiquated British streetcar system. This arrangement kills competition from buses with American tires and motors. General Farrell's government is playing Britain against the United States. Britain needs Argentine beef and is fighting desperately not to lose the postwar Argentine market for her manufactures. "We have lost Brazil to the Americans," say the British. "We are almost completely out of the Brazilian picture. That must not happen in Argentina."

Great Britain has a $1,375,000,000 stake in Argentina. The United States trails far behind with only $311,000,000. But here is a curious fact: The popular mind bitterly resents British capitalism, represented by the big transit companies. That same popular mind, however, and in spite of the fear of Yankee imperialism, is very friendly toward the lines of business in which American capital has been invested. The Argentine knows that British commercial interests are closely allied with the dictatorship and that Colonel Peron's regime will remain in the saddle as long as Britain is willing to do business with it.

Roman Church Fascist

The second element which complicates matters in Argentina is the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. A strong section of the hierarchy, which is fearful of popular governments, readily lends its support to the military dictatorship. This fascist wing of the church has been greatly reinforced during the last two or three years by large numbers of Spanish priests. As I write, the Spanish ship Monte Amboto has arrived with 52 passengers of whom 40 are priests. Perhaps even more ominous are the 2,130 tons of German steel shipped through Spain and brought by this ship to be used in Argentine rearmament.

The religious misdirection which Latin America has suffered at the hands of Roman Catholicism for four centuries continues to this day. It is the tragedy of a church which in its struggle for political prestige allows religion to be divorced from morals. Not a word of censure has it spoken for those who, in violation of constitutional rights, have set up dictatorial regimes in several countries of South America. The private life of many of these leaders is far from exemplary. At an official banquet given in his honor by the hierarchy, one such leader, a willing tool in the hands of the papal nuncio, was dubbed "the Christian president of Latin America." When he came to power he had been separated from his wife for eight years and his present moral life violates the fundamental tenets of Christianity.

Clerical Front Divided

But all is not smooth on the clerical front. The church also is profoundly divided. Bishop de Andrea of Argentina, whose democratic leanings and liberalism cost him the cardinal's hat, said in his recent Christmas sermon: "Catholics everywhere and especially those in our country will face a heavy responsibility if . . . they do not chart their course resolutely. . . . The star which shows us the way at this Christmas season is that of the democratic way of life."

Father Ducatillon, the great French Dominican, has been lecturing in Argentina in favor of democracy and

the United Nations. In a remarkably courageous sermon on "Those Whom the Letter Kills," he pictured the constant struggle of the letter against the spirit, the external form against the inner reality, which has always been evident in Roman Catholicism. But the leading Catholic publications have given vitriolic expression to their disapproval of this brilliant apologist for the religion of the spirit. At a meeting of French Catholics to celebrate the liberation of Paris, Ducatillon was prevented by the police from giving his address in French. The nationalistic character of the present dictatorship prohibits the use of a foreign language in public address.

Influence in Schools

One of the favors granted the church by the present military regime was the appointment of a priest, Father Sepich, to the presidency of the large preparatory school which feeds the University of Buenos Aires. The name of this school was also changed from the National College of Buenos Aires to that of the College of St. Charles. Father Sepich soon revealed his nazi tendencies. "We do not want elections," he said in his inaugural speech. "We want government . . . Argentina has been through two international crises. One was on the occasion of the British invasion of our land soon after we won our independence. The second crisis came when France and Great Britain blockaded our ports. And now we undergo a third trial, when a great foreign power brings pressure to bear on us." He referred of course to the United States. But so threatening was the students' resentment over these aspersions against democracy and the British and French peoples, and so strong was popular reaction against the rector, that the school authorities found themselves obliged to remove him.

At that time, Dr. Olmedo, an arch-Catholic, was director of education. Under his administration, Protestant, liberal and Jewish teachers were dropped from the public schools. One hundred and eighty-two teachers who asked to be excused from teaching religion in their courses were dismissed. But again it was seen that "the colonels" do not have the popular support Hitler and Mussolini had in their early days.

Celebration of Fall of Paris

Dr. Olmedo was finally dropped and a more liberal director of education appointed, and most of the teachers who had been dismissed have been reinstated. But restrictions continue to be laid on all who are not Roman Catholics. The Anglican Church in Argentina has never wanted to identify itself with Protestantism. Out of its conception of respect for Catholicism it has ministered only to the British community. It limited its missionary activity to work among "real pagans," the Chaco Indians. But it has been compelled by the government to hand over its missionary work to the Roman Church, which claims the exclusive right of working among the Indians. The Anglicans' gesture of friendliness got them nowhere with the Catholic hierarchy.

The Argentine dictatorship received a very disturbing revelation of popular feeling on the occasion of the freeing of Paris. Public rejoicing over this event lasted for three days, starting with a small meeting of Argentines and Frenchmen at the Plaza Francia at noon of the day that the news came through. People wept and sang the Marseillaise. Dr. Alfredo Palacios was present and made a short speech. Then the French community asked for permission to have a short ceremony on the following day in memory of those who had fallen in this war. Permission was granted. But all day and night people and delegations from neighboring towns thronged the Plaza Francia to lay wreaths at the foot of a statue to France. When the time came for the memorial service there was a solid mass of humanity for many blocks around. It is estimated that it was the largest crowd ever to gather in one place in Buenos Aires. It was an orderly and well dressed crowd, with every class and nationality represented.

An attempt was made to organize a parade down one of the central streets of Buenos Aires, but the mounted police charged the crowd to disperse it. However, the people were not to be intimidated. They faced the police with yells of "Down with the Gestapo! We want liberty! Down with tyranny!" Finally, groups marched off in different directions chanting "Argentines, yes! Nazis, no!" The police could not cope with them. Men, women, boys and girls marched along with cries of "We are the people! Long live France! Long live democracy!" Tear gas was finally used to disperse the crowds. But all night long groups kept organizing and expressing at the top of their voices sentiments they had not been allowed to express through the press or in public meetings. I heard one man remark, "Perhaps the government will be convinced at last that we are democratic."

Nationalists Immune from Arrest

About that time the movies were showing a film in which the Marseillaise was sung. All over the country audiences would stand and cheer. Frequent riots ensued when Axis sympathizers or members of the "nationalist" group refused to stand or otherwise express their dissidence. It was interesting to observe that police arrests never included any member of the nationalist movement. In one such case, in the city of Cordoba, only one man refused to stand. He was violently attacked. When it was discovered that he was an army officer in civilian dress he was released, but several members of the audience were arrested.

The only Argentines who are happy and prosperous are the cattle raisers. But agricultural exports, which were about 15,000,000 tons in 1937, sank to 3,800,000 tons in 1941. The national budget five years ago totaled 800,000,000 pesos. Today the amount spent on rearmament alone equals that. The 1944 deficit was 700,000,000 pesos (4 pesos to the dollar). The cost of living is steadily mounting, but wages and salaries are at a standstill. The ration of fuel for industrial or home purposes has been drastically cut. Argentines are beginning to get fed up with the "new order" that has been thrust upon them. The "colonels' clique" is living on a powder magazine. It will take only a small spark to create an explosion which will rouse Argentina from the nightmare in which she has been living, but that spark must come from within the country, not from without.

What the Church Has to Give

By W. Norman Pittenger

IT IS R. H. Tawney, the English economist—and a Christian withal—who remarks somewhere that those who seek God apart from their fellow men are likely to find not God but the devil, whose countenance will bear a striking resemblance to their own. St. Cyprian puts the same truth about Christianity in rather more offensive words: "He who does not have the church for his mother cannot have God for his Father." As that stands, it sounds preposterous. But it may be taken to mean, even for St. Cyprian himself, that unless we seek God in company with and in the company of the body of the faithful in Christ—that is, the church, which is the carrier of Christianity down through the centuries—we are quite likely not to find him at all, indeed quite certain not to do so, if by God we mean that particular apprehension of Reality which is the unique possession of Christian faith.

If this be true, it is inevitable that the Christian answer to the world's need is inextricably bound up with the fact of *community*—a word which is perhaps overworked these days but which nonetheless expresses a highly significant fact in human experience. The church is community. It is, in a theological definition, that organic community brought into being by the action of God in his incarnation, divine in its essential nature as the Body of Christ although human in its empirical existence as a society of men. It is intended to continue the redemptive action of God so that all mankind, or as many men as will respond, shall be brought into the organic life which is God-manhood. This is the "en-Christed" life, to use a Pauline phrase. And in order that the life in Christ may have continuity and identity, observable and describable in human terms, it is organizationally and institutionally embodied in that phenomenal reality which we call the church militant here on earth, although its proper eternal reality is far greater and much wider than any such earth-bound institution might signify.

One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church

It is the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. *One,* in that it is rooted radically in the unity of the God-man Jesus. *Holy,* in that it is separated from "the world" (human society in its purely secular and mundane orientation) to the service of its Lord, so that it may bring that world to him. *Catholic,* in that it is an integral organism with an interplay and interpenetration of faith, worship, order and life-in-grace, available for all men and adequate for all men. *Apostolic,* in that it is *sent* from God through Christ to do his work among men, and in its concrete actuality is a divinely established organism whose inner life is God in Christ. That is the church, the *Una Sancta.* Anything less or anything other is not the picture of the church as the historic Christian faith has painted it.

Now I do not wish to shirk the horrible fact that the church as we look at it now does not resemble, fully approach, perhaps even approximate, the description I have just given. It is shabby, divided, in error; it is often prone to sin, at least in its members and in its pretensions of pride. But this is because the church, empirically considered, fails to be the church in its proper sense as the Body of Christ; fails, that is, to realize its essential nature. Why is this? The answer is so simple that many never think of it. The church, although divine in its head who is Christ and in its eternal life and internal Spirit, is human in its members. Therefore, in its members and by its members it is bound to be less than it should be, less in fact than it actually is in its true reality.

Why the Church is Not Perfect

Nor is this a mere playing with words. It is, on the contrary, part of the faith in the incarnation and its extension in the church, that the church which is the Body of Christ shall take to itself sinful, weak and erring humanity, and that it shall not miraculously and instantly make them over, either individually or in their corporate groupings, into the perfected vehicles for God's will, but that it shall so work in them and through them that by their free human response they become more fit (but never perfect in this world of finite things) vehicles, prepared for the perfected life beyond death, in the church which is expectant and triumphant. I should say that those who expect the empirical institutional church to be perfect are in the wrong on two counts: they have failed correctly to understand the nature of this finite world, and they have failed correctly to understand the nature of the Holy Catholic Church.

This does not amount, however, to an extenuation of the serious and often appalling imperfection of the empirical church, nor of the not so often mentioned inadequacies, superficialities, banalities and trivialities of our particular parishes. These are bad; they could be better—shame on us that we do not make them so! But it does explain our continued imperfection, which in truth amounts simply to the fact that we cannot expect ever to get everything suitably eternalized in this temporal sphere. Men remain men, even in the church. That is, they are not entirely without temptation to selfishness and self-seeking, not entirely removed from their finitude of judgment and understanding and action. Even the clergy are men, for ordination does not remove them from the sphere of human action, although doubtless many think that it does and treat those of us who are in the ministry accordingly.

What Has the Church to Give?

What then does the Christian church, so conceived, have to give the world in its need, to men in their travail? I am not concerned here to discuss the church's proclamation of the faith, its specific means of grace, its various programs and policies. I am concerned to stress what the *fact* of the church, the reality of its existence in this world,

its concrete actuality and presence with us, gives to the world and to men. It seems to me that this is something frequently overlooked. It is a good thing that there is a church, a community such as the church even in its present imperfection. It makes a difference and it means something that there is such a thing—and we ought to make that clearer to our people than we have been accustomed to do.

A Threefold Offering

What the church does have, by its mere existence, is threefold. It is life-in-union; it is life-in-charity; it is life-in-God. In a sense these three are one, subsumed in the last of the chain. But in another sense they are different, or at least differentiations within a single theme. Let me amplify this, considering each of the points separately.

Life-in-union is something which every man seeks. None of us lives unto himself; none of us can do so. Even the most anti-social of us, the psychologists say, are such precisely because we have been rejected from fellowship and are seeking it in a perverted fashion. We are made for union—physiologically, so that our physical and biological drives are sexual; psychologically, so that our entire behavior may be stated, inadequately but definitely, in terms of extraversion or its polar but ambivalent opposite introversion (when we seek the other in our selves, having been rejected by the other outside us); spiritually, so that we seek to link ourselves in fellowship with those with whom we live, trying to enter into their lives and make them one with our own. The success of the corporative states is explained along these lines. In place of the rugged and absurd individualism of Western society, they offered men fellowship and mutuality.

Life-in-Union

But whereas human associations and communities tend to be united either for improper ends or at superficial levels, or without mastering the whole man, the Christian life-in-union gives to men that enduring community which is neither at the mercy of circumstance nor obtainable by ephemeral human association. This is because the Christian life-in-union is grounded in the very being of God himself, in the act of God in Christ, and is an ontological reality. Church suppers do not adequately express what I mean, although they have their place; holy communion in the risen life of the Lord Jesus does express it. Conferences, valuable as they are, do not express what I mean; the unity of men as they kneel before God, self-given in self-sacrifice, does express it. Here is the point, then, at which the life-in-union for which men strive can be found. And it can be found already and concretely established in the world, not so much to be sought after as to be appropriated because it is already given by God in Christ through the mystical Body which is the church.

Again, men are made for life-in-love. This is true physiologically and psychologically, as scientific study has disclosed, as the Freudians have made clear, and as literary men like D. H. Lawrence (with all their aberrations) have shown us. Spiritually, men have no other end than "to love and be loved." We cannot avoid or evade this fact. And we do well to remember that even hatred is that violent repulsion from men which is in deepest truth nothing other than a defeated, hurt, rejected outgoingness which (because rejected) recoils on itself. Lust, in similar fashion, is that misdirection of desire for fulfillment in love which leads men to act inordinately to obtain what we all, always, rightly, want—namely, to lose ourselves in another and so to find ourselves again enriched by that other.

This strong human urge, which in its merely human expressions is frustrated and lost, finds its fulfillment in Christian life-in-charity. Here it is possible for men, in the Body of Christ, to let themselves go, if you will; to "go out on a limb" in self-giving love to the brethren; to be transformed through "the expulsive power of a new affection" so that we love in Christ and love the brethren for his sake. Once more, it is not the love after which we must strive that is here shared; it is the love which is self-given and from above, the supernatural charity that en-Christs men and en-graces them. They love because he first loved them. And it can be love without that caution and detachment which are probably necessary in the specifically psychiatric concern; it *must* be without them, else it misses that total identification with the other which is the Christian's by gift.

Life-in-God

Life-in-God, the last of our differentiations, is in one sense simply another way of stating what has already been indicated about life-in-union and life-in-charity. But it is more, in that it insists that the life so known and the love so experienced are a participation in the life of God himself. The Johannine insistence on the reproduction of the life of the Trinity in the believer—his actual sharing in the movement of that life—is a fact too deep and real in Christian experience to be overlooked or minimized. The community of the Christian church, the love which floods men when they let themselves go in the fellowship, is not ephemeral or mundane; it is the stuff of God himself. And it is beyond all easy description precisely because each one of us knows it in his own peculiar and personal way. Hence each makes his own distinctive contribution and each receives his own distinctive share in the life-in-God.

It is this thing, life-in-God which is life-in-union and life-in-charity, that is the secret of Christianity. Christianity is not belief alone, although it is that. It is not ethical endeavor alone, although it is that. It is much more than these but inclusive of these and of much else, for it is community given to us by God through his incarnate action in Christ, purging us of our wrong centering and restoring us to our true place in the scheme of things.

But that is not to say that in our world, finite as it is, the reign of supernatural charity, which is life-in-union and hence life-in-God, can ever fully be realized. Nonetheless, this is God's world; we dare not act as if the state or any other secular means of social adjustment were "of the devil." God has placed us, who are finite beings, in a world which is finite. That fact "fences us in." We must recognize it, accept it not grudgingly but gladly, make terms with it, and thereby and therefore do our utmost to work out such plans as will bring as much of God's final

justice into our relative justice, his charity into our loving, as is possible at any given time or at any given place.

On the other hand, it is characteristic of man—as Bing Crosby has lately been reminding us, in a very different connection!—that he cries out, "Don't fence me in . . . " He wants the completeness of self-giving, the completeness of union, the completeness of life and love. He wants to "go all out," as did Mallory and Irvine on Mount Everest. He wants more than this finite world can ever give him. It is true that sin comes from his overweening pretension to be or get more than he can be or have as man. But it is also true—and we are sometimes in danger of forgetting it—that it is only when he tries to "go all out," to "have more," in the ways which are true to his essential God-given nature, his true norm and his humanity as it is in God's intention, that he is the child of God.

Man's perversions and inversions are not utterly depraved violations of an arbitrary divine fiat. They are violations of man's own nature. In that sense they are disobedience to the God who created man and whose intention for man is exactly that he shall be *man*. Hence in orthodox theology innocence preceded the fall; the myth states the truth. Man is a creature, intended by God to be true to himself as man; that is, to live in and for others, for God in and through others, for others in and through God, in real community, in real charity. That possibility, supremely, is what the church as the Body of Christ has to give to this our needy world.

How this conception shall be implemented is not for me, a theologian, to say. But I would say, humbly and as one speaking outside my field and with little practical parochial experience, that unless some genuine awareness of what I have here tried to sketch is in the hearts and minds of our church leaders and parish clergy they will never do the one thing so vitally necessary—which is to make the church and the parishes within it living realities, so that each congregation shall be a living cell in the living Body of the living Christ, and in that way a health-giving because a life-giving, love-giving, God-giving reality for the men and women and little children whom our blessed Lord and Savior so dearly loves and to whose narrowed mundane existence he would bring, through his Body the church, a dignity, a courage, a meaning, and the peace of God which passes understanding.

Poland--A Moral Issue

By Oswald Garrison Villard

NEVER was a moral issue more clearly presented to the American people than when Poland was abandoned at Yalta by Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt. Here were crass compromise and political expediency at their worst. If, in the years to come, this betrayal leads to another war, as well it may, it will deserve to be stigmatized as a crime as indefensible as Neville Chamberlain's betrayal of Czechoslovakia to Hitler. Yet the reaction in this country, outside of the foreign-born groups, is dishearteningly lukewarm. Many who call themselves liberals say that the matter is "not worth making a fuss about." Some are frankly cynical: "The other fellow had the trumps, so what could we do?" Others accept the Churchill brutality that after all the loss will be made up to the Poles; they will be given some nice slices of eastern Germany, where there will be plenty of room if five or six million Germans are forcibly removed from their homes in East Prussia and dumped upon what remains of the Reich. Still other Americans stress the "ameliorating factors": Stalin's assent to deviations of from three to five miles from the Curzon line in favor of the Poles, and the selection of the British and American ambassadors in Moscow and Mr. Molotov as a committee to keep an eye on proceedings.

Such reactions merely echo what was heard after Munich. Then the appeasers were certain that, while it was hard luck for the Czechoslovaks to lose their freedom, after all it meant "peace in our time." Now we are told that no wrongful action on her part must interfere with our alliance with Russia for winning the war; that Poland has been carved up before and can stand it again; that the part of Poland to be taken by Russia is arid or swampy; that the Russians have the right to protect their borders and to be "secure." These explanations are backed up by a repetition of the prewar criticisms of Poland—that it was a reactionary state ruled by rich landlords and crooked big business men, and marked by wholesale corruption and inefficiency, plus anti-Semitism, with the poor people getting steadily poorer and the exploiters steadily richer. Finally the argument is trotted out: "Well, would you have had us go to war with Russia? For heaven's sake let us be practical."

Not one of these arguments and excuses is valid. I sat in the House of Commons in London on the night that Neville Chamberlain announced that he had given Hitler a forty-eight-hour ultimatum to stop his shameful attack upon Poland, or England would go to war with him to restore Poland's freedom and its boundaries. Every other speaker backed that pledge. Three months later, on December 5, 1939, Viscount Halifax solemnly stated: "We have tried to improve our relations with Russia, but in doing so we had always maintained the position that rights of third parties must remain intact and be unaffected by our negotiations. . . . I have little doubt that the people of this country would prefer to face difficulties and embarrassments rather than feel that we had compromised the honor of this country and the commonwealth."

When Russia joined hands with Germany, invaded Poland and took almost half of it for herself, the British government declared: "This attack . . . cannot in the view of his majesty's government be justified by the arguments

put forward by the Soviet government. For the unhappy victim of this cynical attack the result has been a tragedy of the grimmest character. . . . If Britain and France have been unable to avert the defeat of the armies of Poland, they have assured her that they have not forgotten their obligations to her."

'Honor' Easily Forgotten

Did that mean, asks an Englishman, John McKeen, that "we would drive the Germans out of Poland . . . only to create a vacuum for the Soviet to fill?" But statesmen when they use such words as "honor of this country" mean them only so long as they serve the purpose of the hour. Then they are conveniently forgotten. So at Yalta, even while repeating its sententious phrases, Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt coolly threw overboard the Atlantic Charter, whose second principle states that the President and the prime minister "desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." And the legitimate Polish government in London, so highly valued when it was furnishing ships and soldiers and fliers to the cause of the United Nations, is now told that if it does not accept this monstrously unjust settlement it will be booted out of England to find a haven where it can. On such a foundation stone as this the new league of nations is to be built.

Now what can and should Americans, who still believe in fair play and justice and in a nation's living up to its word, do in this emergency? They must refuse to be muzzled and must continue at all costs to tell the truth and shame the devil of compromise and expediency. Of course they will not be actuated by hostility to the Russians or by any lack of gratitude to the Soviet for its achievements in this war. They will simply say that no matter how valuable an ally may be, if that ally does wrong American voices will be lifted unceasingly to demand that the wrong be righted. This is one of those issues which, like human slavery, cannot be settled until they are settled right.

Slavery for Poland

Indeed, it is slavery of a kind that Poland is now required to accept. Already the underground reports that the Russians have fallen upon her, war-torn as she is, with the same cold fury with which they decimated her people after they had driven the Germans out of the eastern half, the same cold fury that destroyed and exiled thousands of innocent inhabitants of the Baltic states. For Americans to remain silent in the face of this because their leaders at Yalta did not even venture to play the strong cards they hold in their hands would be treason to the finest of all American traditions—our readiness at all times to speak out against wrongs inflicted upon suffering people anywhere.

No one wants to make trouble between Americans and Russians. But an obligation rests upon the Russians quite as much as upon us. If their country insists upon imposing its will not only on Poland but on the other countries now coming under its sway, then the Russians must be prepared to hear a steadily growing chorus of disapproval from this side of the Atlantic. The fault will not be ours. We shall be censurable only if we do not speak out. This is the time to speak out so far as Poland is concerned—before the San Francisco meeting takes place. There must be written into any document presented there a clause permitting revision of all temporary agreements entered into for military reasons or as a matter of compromise.

Such a provision is absolutely essential for the simple reason that no peace based upon a double injustice like this dismemberment of Poland will or can endure. It is a double injustice because the Poles themselves are not eager to have the territory which is to be torn from Germany and handed over to them, even if it is swept clear of its inhabitants, and because of the tremendous human suffering that this will inflict upon the German people. I suppose any suggestion that we should consider ethics and decency in dealing with the Germans will bring upon me the charge of pro-Germanism. But I cannot forget that I was one of those who denounced Hitler's abominable cruelty in moving large groups of people from one place to another to suit his notions. Such an act is cruel and brutal, whoever commits it—our side or the wicked people on the other side. The price paid by the expatriated is the same in either case.

Treachery to an Ally

Right-minded Americans must fight against this subjection of Poland because it stains with hypocrisy our whole undertaking. This was to have been a war for the ennoblement of the individual, for the uplifting of the common people; a protest against Hitler's foul assaults upon human dignity and the conscience of man, upon the Four Freedoms. If we let this dismemberment of Poland and the absorption of those pitiful Baltic states go unprotested, the alleged moral basis of our crusade against Hitler collapses. We have denounced him because he tricked and betrayed his Russian ally when he attacked her without notice after signing a solemn nonaggression pact. Can we now connive at treachery to an ally to whom we, too, have sworn fealty?

If it is impossible to obtain justice for the Poles at San Francisco, this fight must be carried to the floor of the Senate. We must demand that the Senate subscribe to no document which perpetrates so great a wrong or fails to provide for a mandatory re-examination of any agreements entered into by Mr. Roosevelt at Yalta. There is nothing sacrosanct in Mr. Roosevelt's decisions. With him expediency has always been the guiding light in domestic affairs. Why let this weakness of his perpetuate so grievous an international wrong? He is not yet our Stalin, but merely a servant whose decisions we have the right to review and alter.

To be sure, no sensible human being would think of resorting to forcible methods to compel Russia to be just. We probably could not war on Russia if we wanted to, and the experience of Napoleon and Hitler—and the kaiser—proves that she is unconquerable. But if force is of no avail against her, the field of moral and spiritual warfare looms all the larger. It *is* possible to arouse the conscience of mankind. It *is* possible to throw an il-

luminating spotlight upon the actions of any nation, however powerful. We have trump cards in our hands which Mr. Roosevelt did not play at Yalta—not only lend-lease but postwar world arrangements. Russia is more eager than anyone else to obtain large-scale aid from this country. That is our opportunity to say that we are opposed to the maltreatment of Poland. That is our opportunity to protest against despoiling Germany of most of her machinery, upon which depends the economic fate not merely of Germany itself but of all Europe, and even the future of England, since Germany was her biggest customer and source of supply on the Continent.

But the whole policy in Washington has been to give Russia anything she wants, unconditionally. Naturally she feels herself in control of the entire world situation. She must learn two lessons: that the United States will bestow its favors only upon those who follow the dictates of justice and fair dealing with all peoples, and that there is a tremendous reservoir of moral sentiment and power in this country which can and will be drawn upon to right wrong.

Finally, here is an opportunity for the churches. For centuries the Polish question has disturbed the peace of Europe. Russia, Austria and Germany thought they had solved it in their tripartite partition. It remained a festering sore. Now the Poles have learned as never before how to go underground, to face penalties and suffering worse than exile to Siberia. If there is to be peace in Europe the Poles must rule themselves in absolute freedom, for better or for worse so far as they themselves are concerned. That is not our affair—although there were encouraging signs between the wars that Poland was turning in the right direction. But it is our affair to be true to ourselves and to exercise all the moral power we have to see that a restored Poland is safeguarded in her right to work out her own destiny.

BOOKS

The Balkan Tangle

BALKAN BACKGROUND. *By Bernard Newman. The Macmillan Company, $2.50.*

AS AN AREA of mystery, or at least of ignorance, for the average otherwise intelligent American the inscrutable East has nothing on the enigmatical Balkans. As to that little known peninsula at the southeastern corner of Europe, the difficulty in understanding it does not arise from any real or supposed differences between its peoples and ourselves in mental processes, but solely from the complexity of the facts about them and from our own ignorance of these facts. Only the most optimistic can hope that any large fraction of the American people will ever have very clear ideas about the Balkan countries—their history and the present conditions and interrelations of their many strains of population. But an American who wishes to move over from the ignorant majority to the more informed minority, in regard to these matters, cannot do better than get himself a copy of Newman's book, read it once for the general picture, and then read it again slowly and studiously for the details.

It will be remembered that Mr. Newman dealt chiefly with the Baltic states and Poland in his recent *The New Europe* (reviewed in these pages Sept. 1, 1943). His knowledge of that area is extensive and intensive. His acquaintance with the Balkan countries is even more intimate. Besides studying the literature about them, he has spent prolonged periods in them, traveling on foot or by bicycle, living with the people, learning their languages, getting a peasant's-eye view of their economic and political problems and of their folklore and traditions, as well as a scholar's view of their histories, frustrations, antagonisms and national ambitions.

It is both impossible and unnecessary to give many of the details by which the author supports his conclusions, but it should be noted that his researches and experiences have given him a high degree of respect and admiration for these peoples. They are not congenitally quarrelsome, as the superficial observer might suppose. They have been more sinned against than sinning. Most of their quarrels have resulted, directly or indirectly, from the interference of their more powerful neighbors in the pursuit of their own interests. The Balkan countries, once on the frontier of the Roman empire, were under Turkish domination for centuries and were late arrivals in the company of the sovereign nations of Europe. Rumania got *de facto* liberation from Turkey in 1858, but not complete independence until twenty years later. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 liberated Bulgaria, and the abortive treaty of San Stefano the following year gave her Macedonia, which she had no right to and couldn't keep, and fixed in her mind those delusions of grandeur about her imagined role as head of a Balkan empire that she has never yet been able to forget. The Albanians, with probably a longer period of continuous occupancy of their present location than any other Balkan people, have enjoyed national independence for no more than twenty-six years (1913-39) in all their many centuries of existence. These are all new nations with the characteristics of political immaturity.

Another factor of confusion has been the diversity of races, languages and religions, and the intermingling of many minorities. Wallachia and Moldavia were put together to make Rumania. Yugoslavia was called "the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" when its existence as a political unit began in 1918. Strategic position and valuable natural resources have excited the cupidity of more powerful neighbors, and their aggressions have provoked each other's suspicions and reprisals and the resistance of the freedom-loving natives. "Powder keg of Europe"—why not? And whose fault?

The primary requirement for Balkan reconstruction, peace, and economic and political salvation is a close federation of the Balkan states; and essential to that is an agreement by the greater powers to give the Balkans a fair chance, instead of using them as pawns in their own game for higher stakes. Great Britain's recent policy in Greece need not be interpreted as such an intervention, unless subsequent events make it that. What will grow out of Russia's present strategic position in the Balkans is still anybody's guess. The Balkan peoples themselves, Mr. Newman believes, have the qualities needed to enable them to mak a creditable

use of such an opportunity. And he pretty well proves it in a thoroughly interesting and authentic book.

W. E. GARRISON.

Classical and Current Chinese

READINGS IN TRADITIONAL CHINESE. *Edited by Chi-Chen Wang. Columbia University Press, $3.00.*

READINGS IN MODERN CHINESE. *Edited by Chi-Chen Wang. Columbia University Press, $3.00.*

THESE two volumes contain a sufficient quantity of Chinese texts (about 460 pages) to occupy the attention of the fairly advanced student for a considerable time, and such a variety as will give him sizable samples of the different kinds and styles of literature, from the sayings and writings of Confucius and Mencius and the dateless proverbs which express so much of the genius of the Chinese people, to representative products of the Chinese renaissance and the most recent writers. Together they might be compared with the old Newcomer and Andrews *Twelve Centuries of English Poetry and Prose,* but these Chinese anthologies cover a period twice as long and come more nearly down to date than the other did even when it was new.

The bulk of the material in "traditional" Chinese is taken from the classics down to the twelfth century. It includes history, poetry, philosophy, ethics. The "modern" volume contains selections from about twenty writers of the twentieth century, of whom Dr. Hu Shih is the best known to American readers. Here the new China speaks in tones which make it clear that a genuine awakening has occurred and is still in progress. For readers who can get the meaning of these texts—even though perhaps not without something of a struggle—they afford not only excellent practice in reading Chinese but a good general acquaintance with the rich resources of Chinese culture and convincing evidence of the present intellectual vitality of the nation.

Books Received

An Introduction to Philosophy. By W. A. Sinclair. Oxford University Press, New York, $1.50. A book for the plain citizen who wants to know what kinds of questions philosophers are interested in, how they go about finding the answers, and whether the questions and answers are important. The style is "popular" enough for any intelligent reader, but it is guilty neither of the words-of-one-syllable type of oversimplification nor of the forced gaiety with which some recent writers attempt to sugarcoat philosophy or theology. The emphasis is upon the problem of knowledge. The aim is to lead the reader into such processes of critical reflection that he will "begin to know from his own experience what it feels like to think philosophically," and then to produce in his mind a "heightened feeling of general intellectual insecurity and uncertainty"—but this only as a necessary stage on the road to a more mature attitude toward knowledge and truth. This is an "introduction" which is intended only to open the way to better acquaintance. It is well designed for that purpose.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1944. Columbia University Press, $5.00. These selected papers from the seventy-first annual meeting of the conference, at Cleveland in May 1944, constitute, as the annual volume always does, an important collection of studies by experts in this field. The contributors include about sixty of the important leaders in social work. The topics discussed cover a wide range of themes, all oriented more or less directly toward the solution of the social problems raised by the war and by the prospect of peace. Some of these problems come much closer home than anything in the areas of politics and diplomacy, and they are intimately involved in the building of a good society in the postwar world.

I Speak for Joe Doakes. By Roy F. Bergengren. Harper, $2.00. "Joe Doakes" is used as a generic term for the manual worker, skilled or unskilled, urban or rural. Since Mr. Bergengren has devoted the greater part of his active life to the promotion of credit unions for the benefit of the "common man," he has had to do with many Joes in many moods and may reasonably claim to know their minds. In this volume he is saying that the common man in the United States demands (a) a wider application of the cooperative principle in business and industry, and (b) international cooperation in an organization of the nations to make peace perpetual after we have won it. He argues that the "682,400,000 dues-paying members" of the Christian church in the world (there are not so many, we imagine, if he really means *dues-paying*) would join in this demand if they would take the teachings of Jesus seriously and literally.

The Power of Non-Violence. By Richard B. Gregg. Fellowship Publications, 2922 Broadway, New York, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

A Social History of the Philadelphia Baptist Association, 1707-1940. By Robert G. Torbet. Author, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia 31. This is not primarily denominational history, certainly not that in the sense of apologetics or propaganda for a denomination, but a carefully wrought study of the attitudes and actions of Baptists in a given area toward the social questions which have engaged the attention of the whole country in successive periods. Philadelphia has been one of the most important centers of Baptist life for two and a half centuries. The association which bears its name covers most of eastern Pennsylvania and the greater part of New Jersey. The most important questions studied are religious liberty, education, temperance, the "Catholic issue," slavery, gambling, amusements, marriage and divorce, attitudes toward Negroes and immigrants, and certain aspects of political and social reform. This is a useful, well documented chapter in American social history.

CORRESPONDENCE

Who Fed the Greeks?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: My attention has been called to a small but regrettable error in an article in The Christian Century for January 31, 1945, by Mr. T. T. Brumbaugh, entitled "How Religion Divides Us!" The article states in part: ". . . it is reliably reported that it was Turkey and not the United States or Great Britain which contributed most to keep Greek children and others alive during the Italian and German occupations—Mohammedans doing the things that should have been the first responsibility of Christians to starving Christians in lands suffering from the wars of Christian nations."

I do not wish to deprecate the friendly and helpful attitude of the Turkish government or people toward Greek relief, for which everyone can be grateful, and I am of course not concerned with the religious aspects which Mr. Brumbaugh introduces in this connection. However, in the interest of supplying accurate information to the American public, I feel obliged to observe that the author's statement on the subject of relief of occupied Greece is not in accord with the facts, which have been made liberally and regularly available to the public in a series of official press releases of the department of state and in an article in the *Department of State Bulletin* of September 17, 1944, a copy of which I enclose. You will observe that the leading role in relieving the sufferings of the Greek people has in fact been taken, since the beginning, by Greece's allies, with the friendly cooperation of several neutral governments and agencies.

Department of State,
Washington, D. C.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH,
Assistant Secretary.

[The article in the *Department of State Bulletin,* to which Mr. MacLeish refers us, does not discuss the role of the Turkish government in initiating the sending of food to Greece. It

points out that "the Greek relief program . . . involved the only large-scale breach of the economic blockade of occupied Europe." Some 450,000 tons of foodstuffs, medicines and supplies have been sent since March 1942, when a Swedish ship was sent from America by the Greek War Relief Association and a cargo of wheat was shipped from the Near East. Sixteen Swedish ships, chartered by the United States government, are now carrying food to Greece. "Up to March 31, 1944, relief to Greece had cost over $40,000,000." Of this amount the Swedes gave $1,000,000, the Swiss $1,000,000, the United States government $15,000,000, the United States public $5,000,000, the Canadian government and private organizations $12,000,000. "The United Kingdom had advanced over $6,000,000 for the account of the Greek government to cover the early relief shipments from the Near East."—THE EDITORS.]

Indian Bureau Breaks Law

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The editorial in The Christian Century of January 24 entitled "Public Money Diverted for Catholic Schools" drew replies from Congressmen Mundt and Case of South Dakota. Both of them seem to me to evade the issue which is clearly stated in *Indian Wardship* (Home Missions Council of North America, rev. ed., p. 20) as follows:

"In spite of the obvious intent of the lawmaking body, the Indian Bureau has in recent years made grants of money to various sectarian schools, justifying this action on the ground that it is providing not for education of such children, but for their institutional care. This by-passing of the Constitution and the courts violates the intent of the law beyond a question. Whether it can be technically defended is a matter which has not been presented for judicial opinion."

Furthermore, Congressman Case presumes to speak with some knowledge of Indian schools, mission as well as others, when he states: "If there were Protestant boardingschools in the Sioux reservations, they would have the same eligibility for contracts, etc." As a matter of fact, there are several Episcopal boarding-schools in that area and these were denied the subsidy now being passed on to the Catholic schools. However, the principle at stake is the same whether Protestant or Catholic schools are receiving these subsidies. All honor to the Home Missions Council for taking action looking toward "the speedy abolition of *all* subsidies out of federal or tribal funds to church-operated institutions for Indians."

National Fellowship of Indian Workers, Lawrence, Kan. G. E. E. LINDQUIST, Field Representative for Indian Work.

The Churches at San Francisco

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I was present at the recent meeting of the Ohio pastors' convention; and I desire, in fairness to those intelligent men, to correct what seems to be a misunderstanding of the action they took regarding the appointment of a "Protestant delegate to the forthcoming peace conference."

Their action, after frank discussion of the possible dangers involved in the question, was, as I recall it, to recommend that the Federal Council appoint an official spokesman for Protestant Christianity, to be present, without a vote, at all future postwar policy discussions, simply to keep before those who have the decisions to make a clear recollection of what the church believes to be essential for a successful solution of our international problems. It most certainly was not their purpose to follow the Roman Catholic procedure of exerting political power, or to risk bringing the church under any measure of state control. But they did feel it incumbent upon Protestant Christianity to keep the statesmen constantly aware of the principles which Delaware, Princeton and Cleveland have voiced for the united church, and to show their bearing on the concrete problems that arise.

If there is any one lesson that the recent series of articles on Roman Catholicism should have taught us it is not the duty of fighting Catholics politically but the need to be aroused from our lethargy to cooperate where we agree, and where we do not, to do in what we feel right ways an equally effective work of our own. That the Catholic Church will exert its influence at San Francisco few of us doubt. If we can find a better way than theirs and than that proposed by the Ohio pastors, by all means let us substitute that. But let us not lapse again into our customary habit of doing nothing. Let us hope that the Federal Council will take some wise action *now*.

Springfield, Ohio. IRENE LAWALL DORNBLASER.

The Test for Individualism

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It would bring many a reader of The Christian Century substantial satisfaction if Mortimer Smith would tell us, in addition to the evident evils of "statism" or the end products of total collectivism, how the individualism of the past or the recrudescent individualism of today proposes to answer the increasingly vocal demands of *individuals* for greater security from the dangers and disasters that menace the unsupported individual in a society so filled with gigantic and self-concerned corporate bodies, or from the predatory actions of other individuals possessed of power in disparate proportion to their natural rights as individuals, or from sweeping natural disasters such as flood, epidemic or earthquake. Tell us, Mr. Smith, what individualism will do to help the individual when he cannot alone secure life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

First Methodist Church, Oakland, Calif. FRANK MOREY TOOTHAKER.

The Liberty of Security

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: While I heartily agree with Mortimer Smith about the supreme value of liberty and the dangers of statism, I would like to call attention to a mistake in his reasoning and to an error of fact. Individualism in economics means the profit system, means unemployment, means lack of economic security. Do we face the unhappy alternative, food or liberty? Actually economic security is part of liberty, and it is now generally accepted as such.

Mr. Smith does not squarely face the fact that it is just this great desire for the liberty of security which is driving people into an acceptance of statism and all its evils. The solution can be found not in speaking of "the stone of economic security," but in discovering ways of guaranteeing economic security without forfeiting other liberties. This is exactly what the present-day Socialist party of America is attempting to do. It is very unfortunate that so many people have the impression that socialism accepts the authoritarian principle. The expression "democratic socialism" is not an ironic or contradictory one, as Mr. Smith so lightly assumes it to be. It is an expression of the only attempt at achieving a synthesis of the ideals and goals for which the collectivists and the individualists are striving.

Berkeley, Calif. RUTH DAHLE.

Has Christianity Failed the Sorrowing?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Ina May Greer's article, "Grief Must Be Faced," is of real value to the parish clergyman who almost daily is confronted with the problem she poses. Thank you for printing it.

There are two questions I would like to ask after reading the article: (1) What is the distinction between "the ecumenical churches" and "Protestantism"? Is the writer saying that "Protestantism" is unecumenical? (2) What happened to the religious life of the patient who, after losing her invalid mother, went "to church (a large one without a fixed order of service) . . . and . . . felt lonelier than ever"? Evidently, "new friendships," "concerts and lectures" *alone* were instrumental in luring her "into new interests." Has Christianity failed to offer a blessing for those who mourn?

Church of the Holy Innocents, Henderson, N. C. RAY HOLDER.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Deny Protestants Can Be Christian

Argentinian Newspapers Support Effort of Evangelical Churches to Reply to Attack by Roman Hierarchy

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY, Feb. 21.—The recent pastoral letter of the cardinal primate of Buenos Aires and 14 Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops was directed against Protestantism, the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. and the Salvation Army. It pointed out that although the church contains both good and bad people, "heretics and schismatics do not belong to the body of Jesus Christ which is the church. . . . The church necessarily considers heresy and schism the supreme evil. . . . This crime which mutilates the body of Christ and which aims at the destruction of the church we oppose with all our energy. Protestantism emerged as a criticism against abuses. It should have helped correct them from within while preserving the unity of the church." The letter went on to warn that Protestant churches and their affiliated organizations undermine faith while professing to purify it, that the principle of freedom of conscience in the realm of religion produces "incredible divisions" and a spirit of rebellion and pride. To combat Protestant efforts to effect "the spiritual conquest of South America," the prelates declared, national unity based on religious uniformity is necessary.

Papers Deplore Statement

The reaction of the Argentine press to this attack was illuminating. *La Prensa* did not deign to make even the briefest comment and published only excerpts of the pastoral letter under the column of church notices. *La Nacion*, always very friendly to the hierarchy, had a weak editorial condemning religious controversy and persecution. "Every battle won against the dark forces of fanaticism, against those who would enslave the spirit . . . draws us nearer to the anxiously awaited hour in which tolerance and respect for the highest prerogatives which have been granted to man will be respected. To believe, think, act and express one's opinions freely are rights suppression of which could have been effected only in periods of collective insanity."

Both Buenos Aires English-language dailies condemned the episcopal message. The *Herald* said: "We express our regret at the fact that the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in this country should have directed such an attack against Protestantism in general and such institutions as the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and similar entities. We refuse to believe that the sole object of these is to operate against the Roman Catholic Church. Their main object is to do good and they have done a great deal of good. To deny this is to admit blindness."

La Vanguardia, the socialist daily, the only paper that dares to criticize the government, said in an editorial on "The Pastoral of Intolerance": "We cannot believe that the spiritual unity of our nation is imperiled by the activities of the Y.M.C.A. or the Salvation Army with its majors, captains, lieutenants, sergeants and soldiers. Let us remember that these Protestants have never conspired against the unity of our country, nor attempted to destroy its institutions, nor to suppress the liberties they guarantee."

Approve Evangelical Reply

Argentine Protestantism's immediate answer was an affirmation of evangelical faith and an outspoken denial of the many misrepresentations contained in the pastoral letter. It was issued through the Confederation of Evangelical Churches, which represents ten major denominations. This statement was received with willingness and even eagerness in some cases. *La Prensa* showed excellent judgment in extracting the main points for publication, though *La Nacion* gave no space to the statement. The English-language papers however published it intact and several other papers gave it generous space. (Would the press in the large cities of the United States have had the courage to publish so strong an answer to the Catholic hierarchy?)

The following summary of the evangelical reply is based on the report in the *Buenos Aires Herald*, which printed the statement in full. Noting that the churches which are members of the confederation have been working in Argentina for a century, the reply expressed their "deep regret and shocked surprise" at the tone of the pastoral letter. After summarizing its charges against Protestantism, it affirmed that "we feel it our duty to . . . declare what is our faith and what purposes inspire our actions as Christian Evangelicals." "Our foundation is Jesus Christ," it said, and continued: "We belong to the church not because we accept a creed or form part of an organization but because we have Christ at the center of our life. He who lives in God belongs to the church; but not everyone who belongs to a religious institution lives in God. The church, which is the body of Christ, a fellowship of the redeemed, meditates, prays, works and trusts in the certainty that the Spirit which upholds her will lead her to final triumph, not as an institution to dominate the powerful of the earth but as an instrument of benediction and service."

Says Protestants are Witnesses

The statement pointed out that "Protestantism did not seek nor did it desire the division of the church. But the unwillingness of the Catholic Church to eliminate existing errors and abuses made the formation of other Christian communities inevitable. More than a protest, it is an affirmation. Though it firmly and bravely opposes every adulteration of the truth, everything that creates disorder, every tendency toward simony and the sale of spiritual favors or the formation of spiritual autocracies claiming divine origin, it is above all the testimony of a fervent spirit, the joyful song that springs from the lips

(Continued on page 350)

Admits Error in Accepting Gifts

Atlanta Minister Says Use of County Material and All Convict Labor Is Against Church-State Rule

MACON, GA., Feb. 27.—The issue of separation of church and state has been raised in Atlanta by the revelation that during 1944 the commissioners of Fulton county made available to churches free (convict) labor and material worth $27,000, and that in the past three years the value of such contributions has been $100,000. This startling disclosure was made by Gloer Hailey, chairman of the county public works committee and a deacon in the Druid Hills Baptist Church in Atlanta. He made it in protesting against further circumvention of the law forbidding state aid to religion when a delegation from the Mozley Drive Baptist Church appeared before the commissioners to request the county to grade the site for a proposed addition to the church, to haul timber to the county sawmill and to provide rock for the foundation.

* * *

Church Recognizes Fallacy Of Its Position

On the Sunday following Commissioner Hailey's protest, John J. Black, pastor of the Mozley Drive Church, acknowledged before his congregation that in asking such assistance from the county his church had compromised the sacred principle of separation of church and state, and declared that all churches which had accepted such aid (Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Presbyterian, Christian) were guilty of involvement in illegal transactions. He urged them to make restitution by paying into the county treasury a sum to cover the free labor and materials they had obtained. The Atlanta Baptist ministers' association has commended Commissioner Hailey.

* * *

Senator Connally Promises Investigation

In response to a deluge of letters and telegrams urging the Senate committee on foreign relations to investigate Louie D. Newton's correspondence with the state department and the status of the Myron Taylor mission at the Vatican, Senator Tom Connally, committee chairman, has sent the following telegram to the Atlanta pastor: "Regarding your issue with the state department, have to say that when Mr. Stettinius returns from Europe, I shall take up with him the matter with a view to proper adjustment." It will be remembered that last December, in a reply to Dr. Newton's persistent requests for information regarding President Roosevelt's "personal representative to the pope," Mr. Stettinius accused Dr. Newton of "not seeking information in good faith."

* * *

Demand Maintenance Of Segregation

The apparent disposition of the Southern Regional Council to urge the abolition of

race segregation is producing repercussions. Many liberal southerners who are in sympathy with the council's efforts to improve the working and living conditions of the Negro are convinced that the principle of segregation must be maintained. The *Savannah Morning News* expresses a prevalent sentiment when it warns editorially that if the council's real intention is to break down the bars of segregation, it will forfeit the confidence and cooperation of many thoughtful southerners and thus jeopardize all its other humanitarian aims and purposes. In protest against this apparent intention, Francis Bridges of Tallahassee, Fla., has tendered his resignation from the council. In a letter to Howard W. Odum, president, he declared that while he believes in justice and equal opportunity for all men, he also believes in the separateness and integrity of races. "We have ruined the word 'segregation' by our ignorance, our misinterpretation and our selfishness," he wrote, "so I use the word 'separateness.'"

* * *

Courts Deal with Race Problems

Two recent court decisions in this section dealt with crucial issues of the race problem. One orders the registration officer of Escambia county, Fla., to register as Democrats two Negroes who have so applied and to permit them to vote in the primary. When the Negroes sought to register as Democrats last December, they were refused. The court's action was strongly opposed by the party's executive committee in the state and by the attorney general. The other verdict, rendered by the Georgia supreme court (which took the occasion to deplore recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court depriving states of their sovereignty), holds that county commissioners are not required to place Negroes on jury lists in the same ratio as whites. The state court claims that this decision does not contravene the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling in the Scottsboro, Ala., case, which granted a new trial to Negroes convicted of criminal assault when it developed that Negroes were being systematically and arbitrarily excluded from jury rolls. The court also declared that Macon's prosecuting attorney has been entirely within his rights in preventing Negroes from serving on criminal court juries since 1919 through the exercise of peremptory challenge, since it is not possible in Georgia for white and Negro jurors to work together, and perhaps eat and sleep together, and still conserve the ends of justice.

J. Maurice Trimmer.

Lutheran Synod to Retain Name

Since a majority of congregations reported dissatisfaction with the proposal of the last triennial convention of the second-largest branch of Lutheranism to change its name, the body will continue to be known as the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States, according to a recent announcement by the secretary of the synod. The question of a change of name will probably be raised again at the next convention—the centennial convention—to be held in 1947. The denomination is commonly known as the Missouri Lutheran Church.

Capital Survives Yalta Disclosure

An Attitude of 'Wait and See' Reflects Phlegmatic Mood of Average Citizen of Washington

Washington, D.C., March 1.—Today's report by President Roosevelt on things in general and the Yalta conference in particular left Washington citizens-without-portfolios in a mood of "we'll wait and see—and hope for the best." News from the fronts and the latest rumbling of John L. Lewis failed to crowd out a serious interest in things to come. This city of paperwork, carbon copies, files, diplomacy, politics and military uniforms is, generally speaking, an extension of the Main Street of thousands of American towns. Washington's night life is reported to wear a wistful countenance as a result of the brown-out and the midnight curfew regulations. In the legislative pot for much talk and many conferences are plans for slum clearance, increased teachers' salaries, the right to vote by disfranchised residents of the District of Columbia, a clinic for alcoholics, erection of housing—both "low-cost" and for "nomadic" congressmen—and a mammoth stadium, higher salaries for legislators, a 14-dam hydroelectric power project in the Potomac river basin, increased hospital facilities and so on. The inhabitants seem to be remarkably phlegmatic, as undisturbed as they were by the announcement that the 60-year-old Washington monument has been sinking recently—at the rate of 1/40th of an inch each year.

* * *

Lenten Services Are Held

Ash Wednesday found the Church of the Epiphany prepared for another season of community noonday Lenten services. Charles Sheerin, the rector, has scheduled Methodist, Baptist, Episcopal, Reformed and Presbyterian clergymen from near and far as guest preachers, while the federation of churches, in charge of the Saturday meetings, has selected ministers of six denominations. Visitors to Epiphany have been impressed by the beautiful ZeBarney Thorne Phillips chapel, dedicated Feb. 11 to the memory of this former rector of the parish who was also chaplain of the Senate, dean of the Washington cathedral, and for five terms president of the Episcopal house of deputies. In addition to the concern of Epiphany church for the spiritual life of the community, a practical interest is shown by the daily luncheons served in the parish hall. The central branch Y.M.C.A. began a series of luncheon meetings on Ash Wednesday with addresses scheduled by a number of Washington clergymen.

* * *

Chaplain Serves Mentally Ill

The work of Ernest R. Bruder, Protestant chaplain of St. Elizabeth's hospital, has attracted much attention; he is reported to be one of only six trained chaplains of evangelical churches giving full-time service among the more than 700,000 mentally ill persons in this country. Chaplain Bruder's "parish" includes more than 5,000 Protestant patients. Mr. Bruder wrote a special order for the Protestant holy communion services which he has held in the wards. During the first five months of his ministry he visited 1,920 patients and met 202 others in "intensive interviews." An average of more than 50 patients in the section for the criminally insane attend an early morning worship service each Sunday, and a choir has been organized. Hospital authorities have received Chaplain Bruder eagerly as a staff member. The work is sponsored by the institutions committee of the city federation of churches.

* * *

Protest Suggestive Theater Fare

More than 15 organizations, including the Roman Catholic Church as represented by a Washington bishop, and the federation of churches, have petitioned the district commissioners to revoke the license of a Ninth street theater showing burlesque performances and encouraging the purchase of pornographic literature during intermissions. Criticism of another recent show, this one in a prominent Washington theater, brought a letter from the management to the civic affairs committee of the federation of churches voicing chagrin and regret for being made "unwittingly the medium of offering an affront to you and the citizens on whose behalf you express yourself," and adding, "The managing directors of the theater are not seeking salacious dollars, to which statement I will add my deep personal regrets over the occurrence." As evidence of the difficulties encountered in attempting to assure "clean" dramatic offerings, the very next show at the same theater was replete with suggestive lines and situations which caused a local dramatic critic to register disgust.

* * *

And So Forth

So large a group came to the first meeting of "Units for Unity," a nine-week series of interfaith and interracial lectures, that new quarters had to be secured, and even they were overcrowded. These lectures are promoted by the interchurch fellowship. . . . The Roman Catholic interracial council of Washington will inaugurate a series of monthly masses for all races at St. Augustine's Church during March. . . . According to a report by the Fair Employment Practices Committee, 19 per cent of the federal jobs in Washington are held by Negroes.

John R. Edwards, associate pastor of Foundry Methodist Church and a former secretary of the Methodist Board of Foreign missions, died Feb. 18.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt recently addressed a youth meeting at National City Christian Church. David Lawrence, newspaper columnist, spoke on Sunday morning at First Congregational Church.

All churches are heartened by the word that the Baltimore conference of the Methodist Church passed its quota of $565,000 in the denomination's nation-wide crusade.

The community, the federation of churches and his fellow Lutheran pastors joined in a congregational surprise party for Gerhard E. Lenski, minister of Grace American Lutheran Church, upon his completion of 25 years of service in that pastorate.

L. Ralph Tabor.

Ruy Barbosa

A New Biography of a great Brazilian crusader for the essential freedoms.

"Ruy Barbosa represents a moment in universal history."

GABRIEL HANOTAUX

by CHARLES W. TURNER

This full-length portrait is an amazing revelation of a many-sided figure whose life is immensely significant to Western Hemisphere thought and progress and to the world of the future. "The biography of this great citizen," said a contemporary of Ruy Barbosa, "can be symbolized by a straight line drawn between liberty and justice." The straight line of integrity, by us associated with Washington and Lincoln, is here seen in the career of Brazil's illustrious son.

The author, CHARLES W. TURNER, was born of English missionary parents in Buenos Aires, and has spent most of his life in Brazil, though educated in the United States. He is executive secretary of the American Bible Society in Brazil.

Ruy Barbosa was, in the early part of this century, a pioneer and a prophet whose stature is only now being belatedly recognized. This man's wisdom envisaged the League of Nations a decade before its creation, his vision helped establish a foundation for good neighborliness with our sister republics of the South, and his speeches and letters will forever be a precious heritage of the Brazilian national tradition. Said the New York Times: "Talents such as his are rare in any land."

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IT ALL HAPPENED ONCE BEFORE

Roy L. Smith Dealing with international affairs of twenty-seven centuries ago, this book provides an enlightening picture of the Old Testament prophets who first pointed the way to Christianity and democracy, and a panorama of events which are strikingly like those of modern times. "There could be no better book to put into the hands of those who would study the prophetic movement in Israel."—*The Churchman.* **$1**

IN QUEST OF A KINGDOM

Leslie D. Weatherhead This popular but scholarly exposition of the parables of Jesus relating to the Kingdom of God "Succeeds admirably in revealing the eternal, yet always timely, character of Jesus' main teaching. Dr. Weatherhead makes the parables spring to life, while at the same time he applies their main themes to the problems of modern life."—*Chicago Theological Seminary Register.* **$2**

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Urge Conference To Insure Liberty

Evangelical Groups Ask Inter-American Delegates to Speak Out for Freedom of Worship

MEXICO, D. F., Feb. 24.—The Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace, now convening in ancient Chapultepec castle, has made Mexico City the center of attention for this hemisphere. President Manuel Avila Camacho inaugurated the conference on Feb. 21 in a solemn ceremony at the Chamber of Deputies. He expressed confidence in the results of this meeting and in the democratic outlook of the American countries. Acting on behalf of the Committee on Christian Literature for Latin America, the Union publishing house has presented the delegations to the conference with copies of the Spanish edition of *Christian Bases of World Order*, the report of the Merrick lectures given during the Delaware conference of 1943.

* * *

Petition Conference on Religious Freedom

The executive committee of the National Evangelical Council has addressed to the conference a plea stressing the importance of preserving the effective exercise of religious freedom throughout the hemisphere as one of the main bases of a sound social order. It must be noted that in some countries represented in the conference such freedom is at present severely limited for non-Catholic groups. Peru recently enacted a law against public Protestant propaganda, and another making Roman Catholic teaching compulsory in all public and private schools. Roman Catholicism is still the state religion in other countries, with Protestant worship entitled to nothing more than tolerance. There is again a general and concerted campaign—of which readers of The Christian Century are well aware—against the existence and practice of Protestant Christianity throughout the continent. "We trust that conclusions will be reached," the Evangelical Council's document says, "which will guarantee our human liberties, both in thought and in belief, as well as the undeniable right of man to communicate and propagate his ideas." Racial and religious minorities, according to this communication, are now having a hard time under the pressure of a hostile environment, but "they cherish the hope that there will be better conditions for them in the world which emerges after the conflict."

* * *

Laymen's Club Addresses Delegates

The Maranatha club, an interdenominational evangelical laymen's organization, backed the council's action by sending a similar communication to the conference. "We take the liberty," Maranatha says, "of expressing our fervent hope that, among the great principles which without doubt will be categorically reaffirmed in this conference, a very prominent place will be given to such essential and fundamental human liberties as freedom of conscience, freedom of worship, freedom of speech and propaganda, freedom of the press and freedom of association, with no limitations other than respect of personal honor, good customs and public welfare. We feel confident that one of the most important results of this conference will be the safeguarding and effective establishment of these human liberties in all the countries of America." Maranatha also expressed itself against racial discrimination and conflict, and advocated positive cooperation between Anglo-Americans and Latin Americans. "We believe," their statement says, "that we both must preserve whatever good and great things we have inherited from our forefathers, but that at the same time we should share it with the sister race, thus complementing our own with all that is noble and lofty in the good neighbor's possession."

* * *

Anti-Protestant Campaign Soft-Pedaled

"The future of your children and your country is in danger: fight against Protestantism." This and similar slogans, printed on small labels, have been pasted in bus and streetcar windows and in other public places, as part of the anti-Protestant campaign sponsored and conducted by the Roman Catholic Church. But the campaign in general has been soft-pedaled of late, either because violent and outspoken methods have proved so ineffective that the whole tactical plan is being revised, or because the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been advised that it would not be proper to reveal under the very nose of the Inter-American Conference that one of the Four Freedoms—that of worship—is being tampered with right here in Mexico in such a virulent manner. Although the most violent phase of the outburst seems to have receded, acts of physical violence against Protestants have not altogether ceased. On Jan. 21, in Concepcion Enyege, a village in the state of Mexico, a group of fanatics headed by one Esteban Hernandez stoned Lazaro Hernandez, a Protestant minister, and three of his church members. Mr. Hernandez, whose head was badly bruised, was taken to a hospital in Mexico City. There is little hope of his recovery.

* * *

And So Forth

Just in time to witness the opening of the active phase of the literacy campaign launched by the government on March 1, Frank C. Laubach of the World Literacy Committee arrived for a visit in Mexico. He had a cordial interview with the secretary of public education, who expressed keen interest in the Laubach method of teaching reading. Dr. Laubach is supervising the publication of the latest edition of his literacy materials in Spanish.

Another welcome visitor to Mexico has been Clarence W. Jones, co-director of "The Voice of the Andes," HCJB, Quito, Ecuador. Mr. Jones is making a survey of Latin-American conditions for radio evangelism.

G. BAEZ-CAMARGO.

Chiang Asks for Chaplains

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has asked the National Christian Council in China to enlist 1,000 Christian workers as morale officers in the Chinese army.

Colorado Hears of Reform Needs

Newspapers, Legislators Reveal Serious Conditions in State Institutions—Brotherhood Week Observed

BOULDER, COLO., March 1.—Recent developments in Colorado call attention to conditions in state institutions that cry out for correction. In the legislature Senator Eudochia Smith reported that in a personal survey of the boys' industrial school at Golden she had found poor housing, filth, inferior discipline and few opportunities for education. The *Rocky Mountain News* revealed that some 1,000 mentally defective children are being denied treatment in the state institutions provided for their care because of crowded conditions. Lee Casey, columnist on the newspaper's staff, publicized the fact that 97 insane men are being held in the state penitentiary because there is no room for them in the mental hospital at Pueblo. A bill pending in the legislature to correct the shockingly low health standards of the state institutions is being strongly opposed.

* * *

Brotherhood Programs Reach Many Persons

During Brotherhood Week, some 20,000 pupils in the junior and senior high schools of Denver, Colorado Springs, Greeley and Englewood heard addresses on interracial understanding and tolerance by individuals and teams, or saw films dealing with the subject. Radio stations featured discussions and addresses on brotherhood. Ministers and rabbis exchanged pulpits; many Negro ministers spoke in white churches, and vice versa. When the state university community in Boulder joined in a service observing the World Day of Prayer, Paul Fife of the Sacred Heart Church (Catholic) played the church's chimes for 30 minutes as a call to assemble at the First Baptist Church for the observance.

* * *

Expect Crime to Follow Demobilization

The service men's committee of the Denver council of churches is planning means of combating the expected increase in crime to follow demobilization of the armed forces. That the problem will be a serious one is suggested by the warning given by James E. Childers, detective captain, to members of the Colorado police protective association who met in Denver recently. "Prepare now," he told them, "to meet a rise in crime after the war; prepare to handle race riots, labor troubles and other problems created by returning veterans suffering from combat fatigue." At the University of Colorado, the Y.W.C.A. has worked out a program of "big sister" relationship with high school girls of the community who are endangered by the temptations aroused by abnormal wartime conditions.

* * *

Survey Reveals Racial Attitudes

When a representative sampling of white citizens was recently queried by

the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, 57 per cent said that they would gladly accept the service of Negro nurses assigned them in a hospital. Seventy per cent of persons with college education, 53 per cent of those with high school education, and 45 per cent of those with grade school education reported that they would welcome such service.

* * *

And So Forth

The congregation of Grace Community Church, Denver, is gathering a shipment of articles for the children of Greece. Its decision to do so came after receipt of a letter in which the former pastor, Edgar M. Wahlberg, now with the UNRRA in Greece, told of the terrible suffering there.

Margaret Eaton, president of the Varsity Villagers, University of Wyoming campus organization, has resigned her position. "I have no desire," she announced, "to head an organization that encourages racial discrimination."

In the recent financial campaign of the Denver council of churches, more than the required budget for the coming year was subscribed.

CLARENCE W. KEMPER.

Consider Rehabilitation

R.C.A.F. Chaplains Suggest Plans for Effective Postwar Service

MONTREAL, Feb. 22.—Rehabilitation was the main theme of the No. 1 Air Command chaplains' conference which met for three days last week at Rockliffe, Ont. Thirty-five Protestant and two Jewish padres were present. Correspondence with the major Protestant denominations in Canada had revealed that while church committees and courts had begun to discuss the subject, there was no evidence that action had been taken in regard to postwar rehabilitation of chaplains. The law requires employers to re-establish veterans with status and salary commensurate with their old positions, but ministers are in a different category; most of them have resigned from their pulpits to enlist. Suggestions were made that denominational war service committees and Church of England bishops be asked to give returning chaplains first opportunity to settle in vacant parishes, that teams composed of experienced padres be sent out, and that new agencies be created in the church—for example, one to give temporary assistance to veterans re-establishing themselves in their communities.

* * *

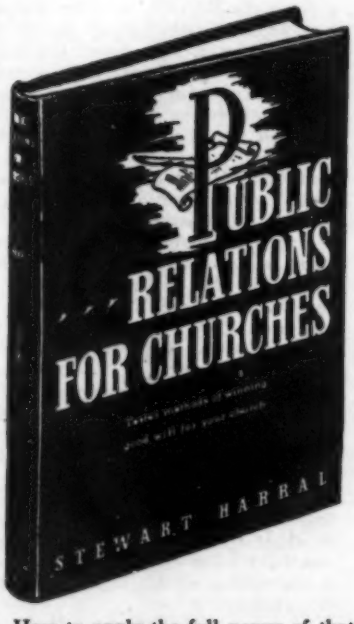
Wider Field for Church Predicted

Chaplains agreed that the church must extend her work over wider fields in the postwar years, must go out and meet men and women at work or wherever they may be found, as chaplains themselves are doing now. They suggested therefore the provision of special courses for demobilised chaplains in psychiatry, journalism, secular education, agriculture, radio broadcasting, visual education, marriage and sex education, missions, political science and social service—the last for those planning to become factory chaplains. Senior Chap-

to be published March 26

Public Relations FOR Churches

by STEWART HARRAL



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X Little Leads to Leadership
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Christ Church, New York

The Magnetic Cross
A. GORDON NASBY
Edison Park Lutheran, Chicago

The Divine Purpose
PAUL SCHERER
Holy Trinity, New York

The Cross
EVERT E. ELLIS
Methodist, North Glendale, Cal.

'In Your Stead'
GEORGE A. BUTTRICK
Madison Ave. Presbyterian, New York

The Peace of God
KENNETH BROOKES
Second Congregational, Westfield, Mass.

Some Common Mistakes in Worship
CLARENCE SEIDENSPINNER
First Methodist, Racine, Wis.

The Pulpit
407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5

lain Roberts reminded the conference that chaplains are entitled to the same out-of-work benefits and re-establishment credits as other veterans, and urged that advantage be taken of this nest egg. He pointed out that educational facilities provided by the government under the re-establishment scheme are not always suitable for chaplains, many of whom will want to take special courses in theology in the United States. The conference suggested that the government be encouraged to permit such study, even if the same courses are available in Canada. Supervised reading courses were urged for those unable to attend college, and refresher courses available to every chaplain were advised.

* * *

Report Many Soldiers To Enter Ministry

Several chaplains told of contacts with men in the R.C.A.F. who are planning to become candidates for the ministry upon their discharge. W. Ewart Cockram, director of chaplain services, reported that on his recent visit to fighter squadrons on the Continent he found the chaplain of one unit giving preliminary instruction to five young men who desire to become ministers. He revealed that although the British commonwealth air training plan will cease to operate soon after March 31, the need for chaplains is still so great that there will be no general demobilization for them. The policy is that those commissioned first will be the first released, and that chaplains overseas will be repatriated after two years' service. A committee appointed by the conference to study rehabilitation problems and to take further action includes Wayman Roberts (Baptist), C. G. Ward (United Church), N. Taylor (Church of England), and H. G. Lowry (Presbyterian). R. B. Y. Scott, professor on leave from the United Theological College, Montreal, was appointed to draft refresher and study courses for chaplains. The conference concluded with a communion service in the Rockliffe station chapel.

DeCourcy H. Rayner.

New Zealand Pastor Comes To New York Pulpit

Melville Harcourt has arrived from New Zealand to become rector of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn Heights, N. Y. A former newspaperman and author of several books, Mr. Harcourt was given permission to leave by the New Zealand government because it was felt that the appointment had international importance.

Lincoln Radio Station Launches Religious Program

An interfaith radio program, "Religion Today," has been inaugurated by Station KFAB, Lincoln, Neb. Each Saturday afternoon from 2 to 2:30 a speaker will present some phase of religious thought, followed by local church news and religious items of national interest. Speakers in March are Gerald Kennedy of St. Paul's Methodist Church; Monsignor Przudzik of the Lincoln Catholic service bureau; Paul E. Becker of Bethany Christian Church; Meyer H. Narx of South Street Temple; and Msgr. Clarence Riordan of St. Mary's Cathedral in an Easter program.

Doubts Further Poll Tax Repeal

Correspondent Notes Few Signs that Other States Plan to Follow the Example Set by Georgia

Nashville, Feb. 26.—The recent repeal of the poll tax in Georgia, brought about by the insistence of progressive young Governor Arnall, has turned attention to poll tax legislation in other states. In Tennessee all poll tax bills have been arbitrarily ignored by the legislature, although one which provides for forgiving the tax for returning veterans will probably be forced to a vote. In Alabama, where unpaid poll taxes are cumulative and no citizen can be reinstated after he has missed paying his tax for a certain number of years, a bill to provide for forgiving such taxes after more than two years' non-payment is before the legislature. The speaker of the house in the Georgia legislature led the fight to repeal the poll tax, but is reported as declaring that there is no "danger" of many Negroes voting, since the white primary will be maintained. He will probably be a candidate for governor in the next election, and apparently expects to find a way to abrogate the Supreme Court's recent ruling on free primaries.

* * *

No Secret Ballot in South Carolina

In South Carolina, where there is no poll tax for voting in the primaries, there is also apparently no secret ballot. In the latest election, six parties were represented, and six ballots were printed. At the voting places, all six were laid out on the tables, and the voter had no choice except to take up one of the straight ballots and vote it; scratching was not allowed. It was proposed that for service men overseas all six ballots be printed on one sheet with perforations between them, but this plan was ruled out because tearing the sheet along the perforations would constitute "mutilation." So, we are told, the straight Democratic ballot was sent.

* * *

Seek Improvement At Reformatory

Gov. Prentice Cooper of Tennessee went out of office without making public the report of his state police on the lynching of a Negro boy at the state reformatory for Negro boys. Some 30 church and welfare organizations from all over the state have petitioned to have the school removed to some Negro community accessible to parents and ministers (it is located in the mountains, inaccessible except by private conveyance). A bill to set aside $150,000 for moving the school has been introduced in the legislature.

* * *

Signs Point to Racial Progress

A number of events may be significant in the story of interracial relations throughout the south. The recent convention of Methodist educational leaders in Nashville elected a Negro college executive from Texas as its president. The Vir-

ginia council of churches' meeting was on an interracial basis, with 1,000 white and colored delegates attending. White newspapers in several southern cities have protested the unsanitary state of Negro clinics and the lack of adequate recreational facilities for Negroes. The governor of Kentucky has appointed an interracial commission to discover "all the facts and conditions relating to the economic, housing, health and other needs for the betterment of the Negro citizens of Kentucky." State welfare agencies, including the university's social research department, will cooperate. A Virginia judge freed a Negro citizen who had defended his newly purchased home, formerly occupied by a white family, by firing into a group of young hoodlums who were stoning it, fatally injuring one of them.

* * *

Jury Fails to Convict Mob of Lynchers

Other developments in the interracial story are not so encouraging. The mob which lynched a Negro minister in Mississippi were freed by a jury on the plea, it is reported, that a Negro was the only eyewitness. In Tallahassee, Fla., the president of a Negro college boarded a bus only to find no seats in the rear. He asked the driver to have the white passengers move forward so he could take a seat in the rear for his ride to Jacksonville. The driver told him he could have his fare refunded if he did not want to stand up. The Negro took the refund, was arrested and fined $25.

* * *

Missionary Groups Form Interracial Board

In Little Rock, Ark., an interracial board has been organized by the Methodist women's missionary groups. Ministers of the churches represented have been invited to cooperate in promoting clubs, game rooms, weekday religious education and community nights. Our report does does not state that these activities are to be interracial, but for some years the women's missionary groups of this denomination have been cooperating with colored women's organizations. The Presbyterian Church of the U. S. has asked its members to sign the following pledge: "I will come to the defense of my fellow Americans against hate attacks and answer anyone who speaks in seriousness or in jest along the lines of religious hate."

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

Note Brotherhood Week

Providence City Council Praises Inter-Faith Efforts—Urban League Active

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Feb. 24.—Brotherhood Week celebrations held or planned in this area outdo any others in recent history. R. Franklin Weller, regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has arranged for interfaith teams to visit high school assemblies and the Quonset naval air base. Public assemblies are being held in Pawtucket and other cities. A brotherhood luncheon was sponsored here by service clubs. The Providence city council passed a vote this week commending the chairmen of the N.C.C.J. for their work. They are former

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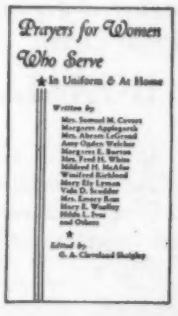

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Urban League Fosters Good Will

The Providence Urban League held the most successful meeting in its five-year history on Feb. 12, with a large and distinguished interracial group present. Under the leadership of Mrs. S. Foster Hunt, president, and James N. Williams, executive secretary, the organization has risen to a place of respect and power in the community, helping greatly in the solution of economic, social and religious problems, placing Negroes in employment and fostering good will and cooperation among the races. Interracial Sunday found many churches inviting rabbis or Negro pastors into pulpits as guest preachers. Newspapers gave considerable space to interfaith subjects.

* * *

Churches Hold Lenten Services

Lenten programs of local churches show clear evidence of a will to meet the particular needs of these times. Grace Episcopal Church, outstanding downtown parish led by Clarence H. Horner, is again offering a series of noontime weekday services featuring distinguished preachers of various denominations, which are drawing great crowds. Grace Church has become their "second church" to thousands who have their own church affiliations in adjacent suburbs or near-by towns. All Saints' Memorial Church, also Episcopal, is conducting each Sunday at 5 p.m. a victory service of music and prayers for service men.

* * *

And So Forth

Influential citizens of several races, creeds and professions in Providence are uniting to promote the establishment of youth centers, which, it is believed, will reduce vandalism and general delinquency in the area.

East Providence Protestant churches have formed a ministers' association, with Samuel T. Lippincott of Haven Methodist Church as its first president.

Laymen are conducting an effective series of radio talks on timely themes on Saturdays at 12:30 p.m. over station WJAR. Programs are under the direction of the radio committee of the Rhode Island council of churches, of which Horace M. McMullen is chairman. A radio workshop is to be held under the same auspices.

Rhode Island Baptists maintain an interracial fellowship which is successful in drawing together people of various races for worship and the discussion of common programs and problems.

RICHARD K. MORTON.

Episcopal Council Announces Budget for 1945

The National Council of the Episcopal Church at its February meeting adopted a budget of $2,577,132 for 1945, a slight reduction from the figure approved by the General Convention of 1943, but some $60,000 more than the 1944 expenditure. The church's projected reconstruction and advance fund was set at $5,000,000; the December meeting of the council had recommended "between $3,000,000 and $5,000,000."

Justice Asked by Sister of Nehru

She Presents Cause of Indian Freedom to Boston Audiences—Sponsors of the 'Springfield Plan' Honored

BOSTON, Feb. 20.—Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, persuasively championed the cause of Indian freedom in and around Boston last week. Large crowds followed her eagerly. She has made a deep impression on the community, largely by her intellectual clarity and her calm manner of analyzing serious issues. Her main theme is that the common people of the world, which means most of us, have left major decisions to so-called political leaders, who make the decisions on the basis of short-term expediency rather than long-time justice. Mrs. Pandit sees little hope until the people realize the need of a different kind of world and then work for it themselves.

* * *

Award Presented to Sponsors Of 'Springfield Plan'

The men's brotherhood of Temple Israel called together over 1,000 people on Lincoln's birthday to pay tribute to the Springfield Plan for racial understanding. Leaders of the project were given awards by the brotherhood. The Springfield Plan sponsors forums and discussions which are carried on by high school students of various racial backgrounds. These discussions try to meet potential racial trouble before it starts by clear thinking on the part of those most involved. The plan, which works out into community projects, is considered the best local community program in America for solving anti-Semitism.

* * *

Champion Miler Embarks on Evangelistic Career

Gil Dodds, America's fastest miler, has just left Gordon College to start his career as an evangelist. His strong appeal to American youngsters cannot be overestimated. He says: "I learned from Paul the importance of getting rid of excess weight to be a track man; I also learned from him that in the game of life we must get rid of the excess weight that is sin." He tells the story of the boy who wanted him to wear a crucifix in the mile run. Dodds refused, then later wore it in the 1,000-yard race. He won both. "This indicates that one does not need to call on the Lord for worldly gain," he declares. Scores of young people all over the country are flocking to the platform after Dodd's sermons to profess their faith in Christ.

* * *

Warns Against Betrayal Of China

Walter H. Judd, former medical missionary who is now representative in Congress from Minnesota, spoke in Cambridge Feb. 13. "Betrayal of China at the peace table," he said, "would throw her into the camp of the enemy in the next war and hasten the end of white domination in the Pacific. The feeling is growing in China today that neither Eng-

land nor Russia wants a strong, free and united China after the war and that the United States will support those nations to maintain white control in the Orient." Dr. Judd speaks plainly.

* * *

Tributes Paid to the Community Church

The Community Church of Boston is 25 years old. John Haynes Holmes, who was a co-founder, has preached there the first Sunday of each month for most of these years. Donald G. Lothrop is the present pastor. The church, which has well fulfilled its mission to express the oneness of the community, includes in its membership people of many religious backgrounds and of several racial groups. It has retained the loyalty of both labor and capital. At the anniversary celebration, Sidney Grant of the C.I.O. paid tribute to the church as the only religious group which in 1936 gave open support to the National Maritime Union which was then striking for better working conditions. Said Mr. Grant, "I don't mind confessing that it was with some deep misgivings for liberals and intellectuals that rough mariners who were fighting for justice came to the Community Church office for food and rest." This praise probably pleased the members of Community Church as much as anything said by the other famous speakers at the celebration. The church, which now meets in Jordan Hall, is conducting a campaign to build a permanent home.

* * *

And So Forth

The 15th annual conference on preaching of the Boston University school of theology is now in session in Back Bay's Copley Church. Ministers from throughout New England are attending to hear the convictions on present-day preaching of such men as Lynn Harold Hough, Theodore P. Ferris, Willard L. Sperry, Carl Knudsen, Rollo Walter Brown and Francis J. McConnell.

The Student Christian Movement of New England, now ten years old, has kept in close touch with religious life on the college campuses of this region.

Bangor Seminary held its 40th convocation week for ministers and laymen of Maine Jan. 29-Feb. 1. David Nelson Beach, whose father established these convocation lectures, was a guest of honor; he conducted the quiet hour meditations. John C. Bennett of Union gave the lectures in theology on "The Present Controversy over Liberalism and Neo-orthodoxy." During his lectures on literature and life, Robert P. Tristram Coffin read from his own wise and homely poems about the common things.

CARL HEATH KOPF.

Ministerial Group Attends Interfaith Seminar

Members of the Altoona-Blair county (Pa.) ministerial association held their monthly meeting Feb. 19 in Temple Beth Israel, then attended sessions of the interfaith seminar and the dinner sponsored at the synagogue by representatives of the Protestant, Jewish and Catholic faiths. Julian Morgenstern, president of Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, addressed the seminar on origins of democracy in the Jewish and Christian faiths.

Nisei Birth Rate Shows a Decrease

Census Figures Disprove Rumors of Its Growth—Gilett Urges Churches to Welcome Evacuees on Return

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 23.—Propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the birth rate among persons of Japanese ancestry on the west coast has been less than that among Caucasians, while for the country at large the population of Japanese-Americans decreased 8.6 per cent between 1930 and 1940, in contrast to an increase of 18,000,000 among Caucasians, 1,000,000 among Negroes and 3,000 among Chinese-Americans. These conclusions, based on the 1940 census and on General DeWitt's final report concerning the Japanese evacuation, were recently announced by Clarence Gilett, who has come to this city as secretary of the Congregational Christian committee on Christian democracy after spending 20 years doing missionary education work in Japan.

* * *

Suggests Churches Foster Nisei Membership

The army, Dr. Gilett, declares, now realizes that "a Jap is not a Jap when he is an American." He points out that the safety of our boys in the Pacific depends to a great extent upon the loyalty and efficiency of the language and intelligence officers of Oriental ancestry attached to many battalions. Dr. Gilett proposes a program for the southern California council of Protestant churches, with which he is cooperating, to help in the adjustment of Japanese-Americans now returning from detention centers. He suggests that the churches enlist key individuals and groups to secure community support for the protection of constitutional rights, that they build up a group of church members and others who will find housing and employment for returning evacuees, and that they welcome evacuees not only as church attendants but as active members. He cites approvingly the action of the Methodist Church in Santa Ana in arranging a Sunday's service of welcome for a Japanese-American family, members of the church, on the day after their return to their home. "In helping their fellow Americans evacuate, resettle and return," says Dr. Gilett, "the churches are developing a new technique of working together which is revolutionary. Christians from different denominations are coming together and cooperating with like-minded leaders in the community—Catholics, Jews, business men and laborers—for the protection of American democracy and individual rights."

* * *

Marine Officer Praises Nisei Loyalty

A letter written to his parents in Los Angeles by a marine captain who has served nearly two years in the Pacific area and has been awarded the navy-marine corps medal for bravery, includes these words: "I have been repeatedly alarmed and incensed at the controversy in the States, particularly in California, over the Japanese situation. Certain news-

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papers and organizations seem to want to bring the blood purge, racial extermination and the other fine (?) qualities of the enemy into common coinage in our own country. That the voice of intolerance should speak so loud and find so many eager listeners at a time when thousands are giving the best part of their lives and often life itself to combat that very thing abroad sickens and nauseates me. How the nisei soldiers I saw with the army on Bougainville must react to the news of these threats to their birthright! What an extraordinary test of devotion and loyalty it is that these men should serve so faithfully against an army of their own blood, knowing all the time that they are being sold out at home!"

* * *

Deplores Loss of Talent In Racial Struggle

Pilgrim House, sponsored by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the Negro area of the city, celebrated its first anniversary Feb. 4 by inviting prominent citizens to attend a meeting addressed by Buell Gallagher, formerly president of Taladega College and now at the Pacific School of Religion. Dr. Gallagher cited examples from the fields of literature, art, drama, music, military science, medicine, politics to point out that other nations have been immeasurably richer than the United States because they have welcomed the contributions of colored peoples. His argument was not that these persons had made good because of their ancestry, but that if they had lived in this country the barriers of color prejudice would have been thrown up against them. "How much of the genius and energy of Negro America is wasted on fighting the race problem no one can know," he said.

ALLAN A. HUNTER.

Discuss Social Work

Chicago Ministers Meet in Conference With Social Workers

CHICAGO, March 5.—"The church has much to offer the social worker in motivation, and the social worker has much to offer the church in method," declared George M. Gibson, pastor of the United Church of Hyde Park and chairman of the city church federation's department of social service, at a conference sponsored last Monday by the department. Both groups, he pointed out, have much to learn about the dangers and deficiencies of their own vocabularies and the necessity of understanding the other's. Mildred Searle Dewey, secretary of the family welfare association of Rockford, said that it is inexcusable that ministers make such small use of the resources and skills of social agencies, and that social workers so seldom call upon ministers to help in rehabilitation of families and individuals. She urged that the resources of the church be more fully used in developing public social attitudes and in securing improved social legislation.

* * *

Illinois Fails to Enforce Child Labor Laws

Illinois, according to the annual report of the Juvenile Protective Association, has one of the worst records in the nation in the illegal employment of children. The reason was declared to be the fact that the state labor department does not enforce existing child labor laws. Police, teachers and social workers are said to be "thwarted and even prohibited by political interference" from enforcing the laws. "At the end of the war," said Jessie Binford, secretary of the association, in releasing the report, "not all the shameful stories of the mistreatment of children will come from lands which suffered at the hands of Germans or Japanese. Some of them will come from Chicago, telling of the use of the labor of little children under the guise of war emergency."

* * *

And So Forth

The state officers of the American Legion have swung that organization behind a bill now pending in the legislature to suspend all local option elections until after the war.

Friends here of Jacques Maritain, at one time a professor of the University of Chicago, are interested to learn that he has been appointed ambassador from the new French government to the Vatican. The interpreter of Thomas Aquinas and scholasticism was by birth and early training a Protestant; in politics he is a liberal.

CHARLES L. VENABLE.

Gideons Reserve Gospel For Whites Only

The *Nation* reports that it recently requested information from the Gideons, Bible-distributing organization, concerning this note which appears on the application blanks for membership in the organization: "IMPORTANT: The object of the Gideons is to associate Christian business men (white) for service, and to carry to the world the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ." The secretary replied, "We do not accept into our association any but those of the white race."

Detroit Presbyterians Ask Justice for Negroes

At their joint meeting in January, the presbytery of Detroit and the presbyterial society of Detroit, representing more than 41,000 Presbyterians, expressed themselves as concerned that there should be no discrimination or prejudice on the part of city officials against Negroes in the matter of adequate housing. According to a story in the *Church Times,* they petitioned the city housing and planning commission to find another site than the one chosen for a proposed civic center or to pay the true value for the land, on which at present the finest Negro residential and business buildings in the city are located. They also asked that the commission make available suitable areas where Negroes can secure adequate housing and business locations.

Church Membership Shows Decline

Statistics quoted in the *Congregational Way* of Seattle show that the percentage of church members in King county, in which the city is located, fell from 22.6 per cent of the population in 1940 to 19.9 per cent in 1944. Commenting on the decline, the *Messenger* of the Evangelical Congregational Church of McKeesport, Pa., notes that this is further proof that "the city is the graveyard of the church."

Says a Million Indians Starved

Quaker Declares the Gifts of American Labor Saved Thousands — China Receives over Nine Million

NEW YORK, March 2.—Eric W. Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee declares that "acute, war-caused distress exists today in India. Epidemics are raging. Tens of millions are destitute. India needs America's help. If you were to go today into a typical village of Bengal—and 90 per cent of the people of India live in villages—you would probably find two people in every family of five suffering from malaria. A year ago the families were larger than they are now, since from one to three million Indians, depending upon whether you accept government or unofficial estimates, died directly from starvation during 1943 and 1944. . . . Almost every child still bears the marks of famine and disease. Again, if the village were typical, you would find no facilities for medical care—not even the simplest dispensary. Almost everyone would have some sort of dysentery. In normal times life in India is not easy and we should certainly never accept such standards here. But the war has greatly lowered this level of life. The famine was largely war-caused. Because of the war, India's people are today desperate."

* * *

U. S. Labor Gift Saves Many

Mr. Johnson gives six war reasons for this distress: "strain on transport, shortage of able men, political tension, presence of Allied troops, shipping shortage, and food supplies cut off." The work of the American Friends Service Committee includes setting up milk canteens, distributing over 30,000,000 multi-vitamin tablets, over 2,000,000 tablets of sulfaguanidine, sulfathiazole and sulfapyridine and 14,000,000 tablets of atabrine for malaria, and certain amounts of cash for the purchase of supplies locally for quick emergency food relief in India. Mr. Johnson says: "Organized labor's gift of $200,000 came just when the National War Fund had decided not to allocate further funds for Indian relief. It has kept the program going until March. Had it not been for the A. F. of L.'s and the C. I. O.'s generosity, the India program would have been stopped at a time of acute need."

* * *

Give Awards to Radio Programs

The 1944 Brotherhood Week "Awards of Distinguished Merit" to men, women and programs in radio broadcasting were presented last week by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The five awards were made to "They Call Me Joe," presented by the National Broadcasting Company on the "University of the Air"; the dramatization "Untitled" by Norman Corwin, presented by the Columbia Broadcasting System; "Hymns of All Churches," presented by General Mills over the N.B.C. network; station WMCA of New York, "because of its contributions to national unity in such programs as 'New World a-Coming,' 'Adventures into the Mind' and other efforts consciously fostered to encourage understanding and harmony among all groups of the American people"; and to Miss Kate Smith, "because her radio programs throughout the year 1944 embodied the message of understanding and good will among all Americans; because she has consistently dedicated herself to the advancement of these ideals."

* * *

China Given $9,500,000 By Relief Agencies

According to the report by James L. McConaughy, president of United China Relief, more than $9,500,000 was sent by the American people to help the people of China last year. The 1944 figure represents an increase of $912,586 over 1943 and brings to a total of $24,855,341 the amount sent through United China Relief since its organization in 1941. These funds are used for medical aid, orphan care, child welfare, industrial cooperatives, transportation of drugs and medical supplies and training of medical workers in China. Because of the combined money-raising as a member of the National War Fund, administrative costs for securing and transmitting these funds were only 3.7 per cent.

* * *

Le Tourneau Speaks to New York Laity

A special meeting of the clergy association of New York and neighborhood was held in the McAlpin hotel on Monday. Each minister was asked to bring one layman and all were the guests of the Le Tourneau foundation. The speaker was R. G. Le Tourneau, builder of P.T. boats and of the world's largest earth-moving machinery. In the morning Mr. Le Tourneau spoke on "Christian Stewardship" and at the luncheon on "The Consecration of Laymen." Declaring that "men have got to love Jesus more than they love their business," Mr. Le Tourneau told the audience that he gave over 90 per cent of his income "to the Lord." When challenged as to how he could do this under present taxation, he simply said, "I give it away before I make it." Mr. Le Tourneau insisted that "if the churchmen of the nation had done what they should, we would not have had this war. . . . Laymen should work in the church to spread the gospel and save souls, rather than to enter the church to save ourselves and get a possible ticket to heaven."

* * *

Presbytery to Open Two New Churches

At the meeting of the Brooklyn-Nassau presbytery held Monday in the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, favorable action was taken in respect to the petitions of two groups to organize churches. Calling the action "an event of great significance"—for no new church has been organized in ten years in the presbytery—the meeting appointed a committee to assist a group of people in organizing a church at Franklin Square, L. I. The second church to be authorized was started by 65 Negroes in South Jamaica, L. I., and sponsored by the Siloam Church in Brooklyn. The presbytery endorsed a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. Francis D. Wallace of St. Albans Church served as moderator.

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ARGENTINA AND PROTESTANTS

(Continued from page 339)

of those who live in communion with God and who have placed their lives unconditionally in his wise and loving hands." The declaration then summarized the beliefs of Protestants in God, in Christ his Son, in the Virgin Mary, in the holy apostles, in the Bible, in prayer, in eternal life and in the final triumph of goodness, truth and justice in the Kingdom of God.

Believe in Free Church

Repudiating the idea that Protestants "reject all authority," the statement located the source of all authority in God. It noted that Protestantism exists in all countries, and respects constituted authorities and laws "provided they do not violate the will of God expressed in the gospel of Jesus Christ." Protestants "believe in a free church within a free state. We do not receive or approve government financial support. No charge is made for its services or ceremonies. Our churches are supported by the free offerings of their members, given as an expression of gratitude and a desire to serve. The amount or frequency of these voluntary gifts does not result in greater privileges or spiritual favors. . . . The unity which the Evangelical churches seek does not depend upon doctrinal definitions or creeds or on ecclesiastical organization—all values of unquestionable importance—but on the personal experience of a living Christ in the heart of every believer. . . . Unity is not always to be found in uniformity."

For Religious Liberty

After noting that religious uniformity exists in tragically divided Spain, the statement concluded with a section on religious liberty: "Liberty is not a favor graciously granted by some power either civil or ecclesiastic; it is a gift from the love of God to all humanity. . . . The pastoral letter of the Roman Catholic hierarchy denies to Protestants the right to preach in public in countries that are considered Roman Catholic. They forget that it is in Protestant countries that the Roman clergy is treated with greater respect and that it is the citizens of two Protestant countries who at present guard the life of the supreme head of the Roman Church. . . . We have not provoked nor do we wish to renew religious strife . . . but we do declare that without hesitation or fear we will remain firm in defense of liberty of conscience—liberty for ourselves and for those who do not think as we do—the only hope of a more just, worthy and happy brotherliness."

GEORGE P. HOWARD.

The Church Roll

William H. Alexander, pastor of First Christian Church of Oklahoma City, is to go overseas as correspondent for the *Christian-Evangelist*, Disciples journal, and for two newspapers in his home city. He will report on matters which concern the church now and in the future.

John C. Davis, rector of St. Andrew's, only Negro Episcopal church in Cleveland, was recently elected to a three-year term on the diocesan council of Ohio. He is the first Negro to serve on the council. Harry J. Walker, treasurer and lay reader

at St. Anthony's, was elected alternate delegate to the provincial synod, composed of Episcopal dioceses of five midwestern states.

L. A. Barrett, pastor of the United Presbyterian Church in Wooster, Ohio, formerly religious editorial writer for the Western Newspaper Union and the author of a number of religious books, died Feb. 27.

Guests of the May 17-19 session of the American committee of the World Council of Churches will be Marc Boegner, president of the French Protestant Federation; W. A. Visser 't Hooft of Geneva, Switzerland, general secretary of the council; and George Bell, Anglican bishop of Chichester.

Hwang Siu-Chi has returned to her native China from this country to become executive secretary of the Chinese student Y.W.C.A.

Howard Elkinton of the American Friends Service Committee has been appointed to visit enemy aliens interned in prison camps in this country. The Y.M.C.A. cooperates in support of this service.

Gipsy Smith, famous evangelist, will conduct a series of meetings in Sacramento, Calif., March 18-25 under the sponsorship of the city's council of churches.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Fighting Lady (U. S. Navy-Fox) *Documentary* photographed aboard carrier from its launching through training cruise, familiar Pacific engagements, to battle of Philippine sea. . . . *Remarkably* realistic, unspectacular, yet vivid with effective shots of routine procedures and violent action. In technicolor. M, Y

Her Lucky Night (Univ.) *Farce*, featuring Andrews sisters in their usual slapstick gyrations. *Noisily wearisome.* M, Y

The Sign of the Cross (Par.) *Melodrama* of 1932, reissued with prologue set in Italy of 1944. Story of a Roman official and his love for a Christian girl, set against background of debauchery in Nero's court, persecution of Christians. . . . Famous DeMille production is mainly *spectacle for its own sake*, its scenes designed to shock and amaze. Treats of early Christian sufferings, but fails to convey any idea of what their religion meant or why men were willing to die for it. Fabulous settings. M, Y

The Town Went Wild (Producers) *Comedy* based on feud between neighbors which comes to head when evidence indicates their 20-year-old sons were exchanged at birth. . . . *Stilted.* M, Y

To Have or Have Not (Par.) Lauren Bacall, Humphrey Bogart, Walter Brennan. *Melodrama*, set in Martinique of 1940, with American skipper of fishing launch involved against his will in Free French plot to circumvent local Vichy police. . . . *Hard-boiled, violent characterizations* in story on order of popular "Casablanca," but less rich and varied. Is commended by Negro press for realistic inclusion of Negroes in incidental scenes. M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: An American Romance, Going My Way, The Great Mr. Handel, Hail the Conquering Hero, Meet Me in St. Louis, New Americans, Our Hearts Were Young and Gay, Wilson, Wing and a Prayer.

For Mature Audience: The Battle of Marianas, Double Indemnity, Dragon Seed, Inside China Today, The Keys of the Kingdom, None but the Lonely Heart, Objective Burma, Gaslight, Since You Went Away, The Seventh Cross, The Song of Bernadette, The Suspect, Two Girls and a Sailor. 3-14-45

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